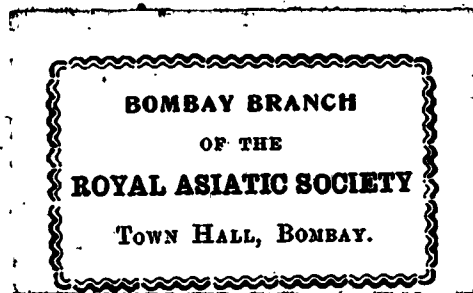
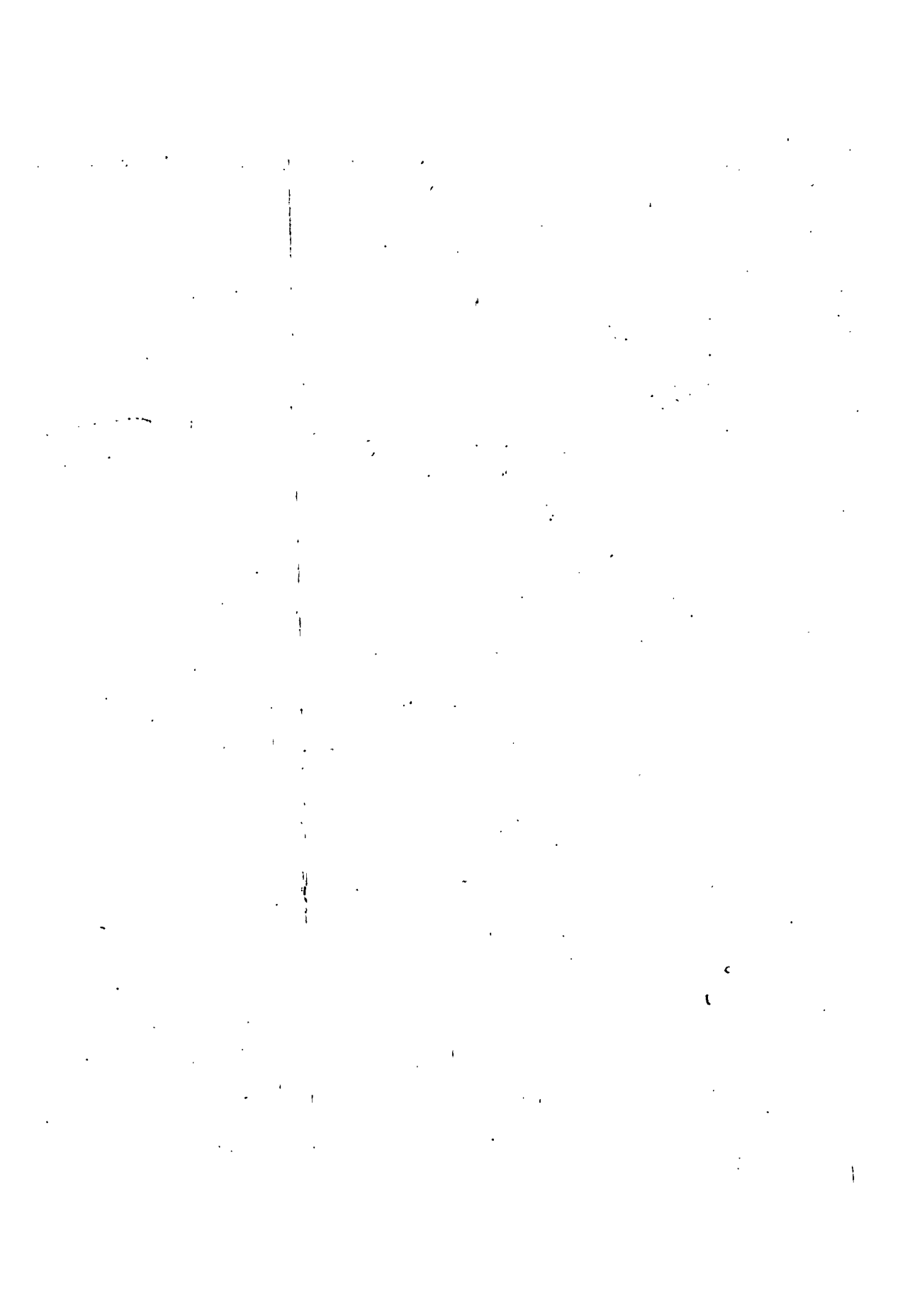
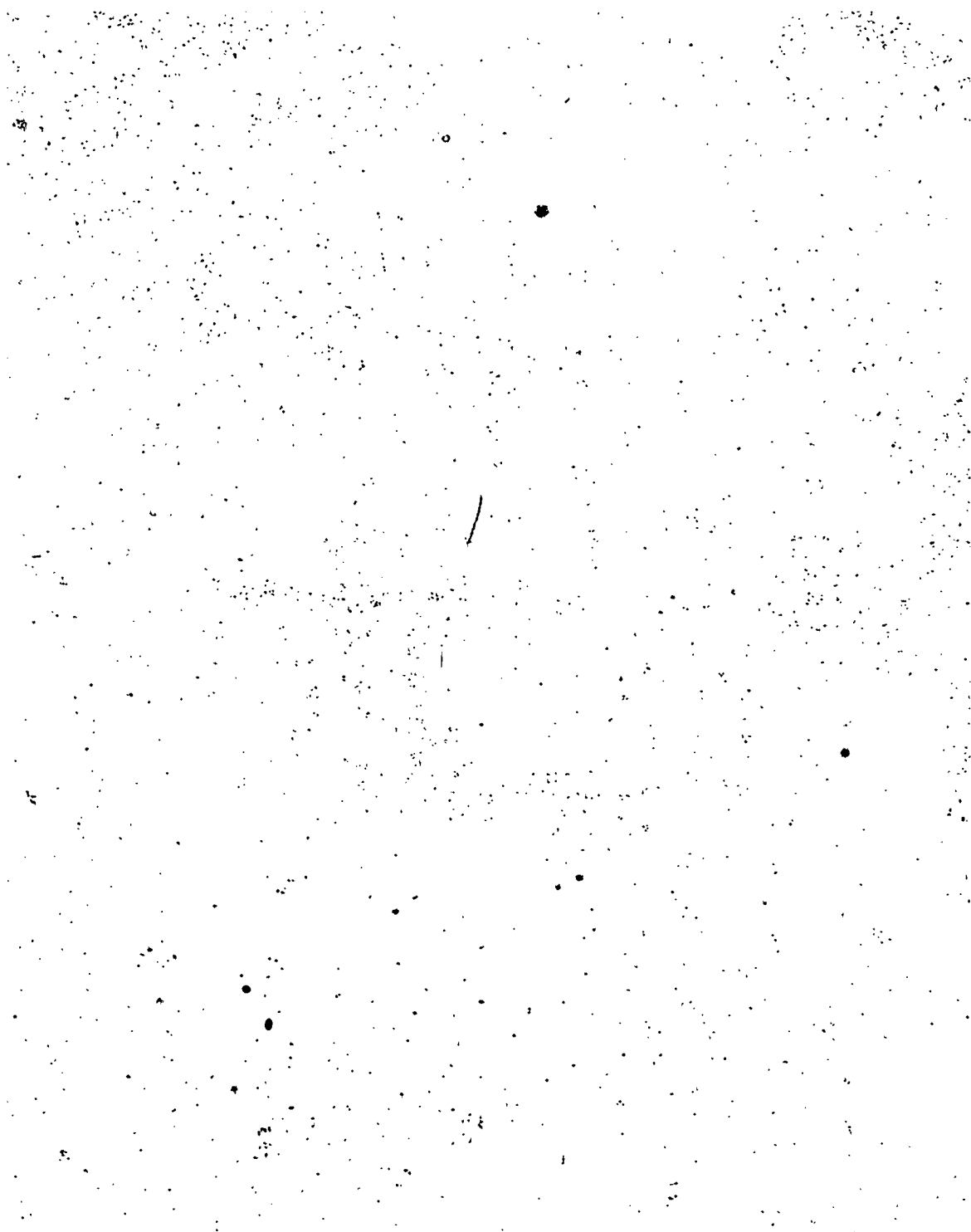




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H. T. Fry sculp.

J. S. Buckingham.

in the Costume of Turkish Arabia.

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TRAVELS
IN
PALESTINE,

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF
BASHAN AND GILEAD,

EAST OF THE RIVER JORDAN.

INCLUDING A VISIT TO
THE CITIES OF GERAZA AND GAMBULA
IN THE DECAPOLIS.

By J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA; AND OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES
OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
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LONDON :
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

DEDICATED,

BY EXPRESS PERMISSION,

TO

THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS, K.G.

F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,

&c. &c. &c.

WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT,

BY HIS MUCH OBLIGED,

AND VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

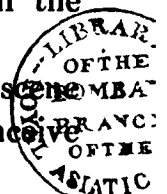
PREFACE.

ON announcing to the public a new volume of travels through a country apparently so well known as Palestine, some explanation is due to those who may honour the work with their patronage.

The authors who have written in illustration of this small portion of the globe, from Benjamin of Tudela and Sir John Mandeville, down to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Chateaubriand, may be thought to have so completely exhausted the subject, as to leave nothing new to be added by another.

The itineraries of catholic devotees have furnished the most ample details regarding the sanctuaries and holy places; and the names of Phocas, Quaresmius, and Adrichomius, are associated with these early labours. The extended journeys of protestant scholars have enlarged our acquaintance with objects of more general enquiry, and the names of Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, stand pre-eminent among these. The profound researches of both English and French critics, have laid open all the stores of learning in illustration of the ancient geography of Judea; and the works of Reland and D'Anville, are monuments of erudition and sagacity that would do honour to any country, while the labours of very recent travellers would seem to close the circle of our enquiries, by the pictures which they have given of the general state of manners and the present aspect of the country, retaining still the freshness of their original colouring.

Yet among all those who have made the Holy Land the scene of their researches, there has not been one who did not conceive



that he was able to correct and add to the labours of his predecessors, and, indeed, who did not really notice something of interest which had been disregarded before. It is thus that Dr. Clarke expresses his doubts and disbelief at every step, and attempts to refute, with indignation, authorities which travellers of every age had hitherto been accustomed to venerate. And it is thus, too, that Chateaubriand confesses, with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundreds of volumes on the country he came to visit, they had given him no accurate conceptions of what he subsequently beheld for himself.

I come then, like those who have preceded me, with a profession of dissatisfaction at the incompleteness of all that has been written before, and with the belief and assurance that I am able to add something new and interesting to the general fund of human knowledge, and more particularly to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea.

As the cradle of our religion, and the scene of all that is venerable in Holy Writ; as the birth-place of classic fable, interwoven with Phœnician history; as a theatre of the most heroic exploits during the Jewish, the Roman, and the Saracenian wars; as a field moistened with the best blood of our ancestors in the wild and romantic age of the crusades; and even now, at the present hour, as a fair and lovely portion of the earth, still favoured with the dews of heaven, and blessed with the most benignant sky; it is impossible to pass through it with indifference, and equally so, not to set some value on the impressions which these objects and these recollections excite.

It will be expected that I should say something of my qualifications to execute the task of giving these impressions to the world in a form that may deserve their notice.

As far as my earliest recollections guide me, the desire of visiting distant regions was even in infancy the prominent one of my heart. At the early age of nine years, the gratification of this passion was promised to me by embarking as a sailor on an ele-

ment that had more charms for me than terrors. At the age of ten I was made a prisoner of war, and it being at the period of the French revolution, in which the Spaniards were their allies in 1796, I was conveyed with my shipmates to the port of Corunna.

After a confinement of some time there, we set out on our march towards Lisbon, and at this tender age, though exposed to the inclemency of the autumnal rains, often sleeping in the open air, scaling rugged and snow-clad mountains barefoot, and subject to all the privations of prisons in a foreign land; the charm of novelty, and the fascinating beauties of nature which presented themselves alternately in their wildest, their loveliest, and their most romantic forms, made me forget that I was a captive, and often occasioned my young heart to bound with joy under trials, which, without such enthusiasm to support them, would have broken the stoutest spirit.

This infant passion was strengthened rather than subdued by my journey through the finest parts of Spain and Portugal; and, since that period, a series of voyages to America, the Bahama islands, and the West Indies, while they furnished fresh food for enquiry, strengthened more and more the ardent passion for discovery and research.

The Mediterranean next became the scene of my wanderings. Those who have had an early love of classic literature, and a veneration for all that illustrates it, can alone tell what are the feelings excited by a first view of objects in nature which were before known to us only in books. The elegant poetry of Lord Byron is full of them, and though it belongs only to a genius like his to express those feelings well, yet men of humbler talents may and do experience them with equal force.

From the moment of my passing within the portals of Calpé and Abyla, and seeing those pillars of Hercules recede behind my vessel, Egypt, Greece, Phœnicia, Palestine, Italy, and Mauritania, all opened upon my view at once. The desire of visiting them I had always felt: this desire was now nurtured into hope, and from

that moment I constantly believed, that I should tread most of the scenes which I have since trodden, and behold with delight the objects which I had so long contemplated with admiration.

It was now that I applied myself, with more than common ardour, to the reading of every book within my reach that was likely to extend my knowledge of the interesting countries by which I was on all sides surrounded; and, unfavourable as the incessant duties, and the hardy life of a sailor are to such studies, every moment that I could spare from the vigilant watch, which squalls, and storms, and pirates, and more open enemies, constantly demanded, and from all the complicated claims which commerce and navigation enforced on my attention, was given to study.

Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the Gulf of Smyrna, gave me only a foretaste, but certainly a most delicious one, of what was yet reserved for me to enjoy.

Alexandria at length received me into her port; and the Pharos, the Catacombs, Cleopatra's Obelisk, and Pompey's Pillar, were all objects of youthful veneration, which I now beheld with correspondent pleasure.

I ascended the Nile, with the *Odyssey* and *Télémaque* in either hand; and Homer and Fénélon never interested me more than upon the banks of this sacred stream.

The proud capital of the khalifs "Misr, the mother of the world;" "Kahira the victorious," placed me amid the scenes of oriental story. The venerable Pyramids carried me back to the obscurity of ages which are immemorial. The ruins of Heliopolis inspired the recollections of Pythagoras, and the Grecian sages who had studied in its colleges; and the hall of Joseph brought before my view the history of Abraham and his posterity, of Moses and Pharaoh, and of all the subsequent events that befel the race of Israel.

My attention was now directed towards India, by the desire which the mercantile community of Egypt had to renew their

ancient intercourse with this country by way of the Red Sea. I was chosen as an agent in the work, and embarked in it. In the mean time, it was represented to me as desirable, that a more competent knowledge of the navigation of this sea should be obtained, and as the task required only duties which were familiar to me, I set out to accomplish it.

With this view, I ascended the Nile to Keneh, in order to cross over from thence to Kosseir, having with me excellent instruments for nautical purposes. I did not pass Hermopolis and Antinoë, Panopolis and Abydos, Diospolis and Tentyra, without an enthusiastic, and I may say a minute examination of their fine remains. I was near to Coptos; but Thebes, Hermonthis, Elythia, Apollinopolis, Ambos, and Syene, with the cataracts of Philoë and Elephantina, were still beyond me. The passage to Kosseir was obstructed at this time, and hopes were entertained of its being re-opened after some few days. I hesitated not a moment, but again spread forth the sail upon the Nile for still more southern skies.

At Thebes I remained a week. At Esneh or Latopolis, I met with the late lamented, and most accomplished traveller, Mr. Burckhardt. We remained together for three or four days, scarcely absent from each other's sight for a moment, and scarcely ever silent, so much had we to enquire of and to communicate to each other. We separated, Mr. Burckhardt for the Desert, and I to continue my course still upward on the stream.

I reached the cataracts. The intelligence received here of the wonderful monuments beyond this, determined me to pursue their traces as far southward as they could be found. I procured another boat and embarked. The temples of Daboot, of Taefa, and Galabshee; the quarries and inscriptions of Gartaasy; the stupendous cavern, with its alley of sphinxes, and colossal statues at Garfeecy; and the highly-finished sculptures of the beautiful temple of Dukkey, rewarded the undertaking, and induced me to consider the

monuments of Nubia as belonging to a higher class of art than even those of Egypt.

I had received the first attack of an ophthalmia on quitting Mr. Burckhardt, who himself laboured under this disease at Esneh. I now, however, became gradually blind; and as the least glare of light was painful to me, even while my eyes were closed, it was in vain to think of penetrating further.

I returned from Nubia with regret, but rich, as I then thought, in the spoils of the enterprise.

An accurate chart of the Nile, as far as I had ascended it, with a delineation of the islands, and inferior cataracts that we had passed; an observation which fixed with some precision the tropic of Cancer passing through the largest of these rapids; the latitude of Dukkey, the extreme point of my voyage; with measured plans, and pretty ample details of all the monuments of antiquity that we had found; were the result of my labours on this unanticipated excursion beyond the Nubian frontier.

I descended to Keneh; and though the obstacles which at first obstructed my passage of the Desert were rather augmented than diminished, I determined on making the attempt, and accordingly set out with all the precautions which it was in my power to use.

The result was, as had been predicted. I was stripped naked among the mountains, plundered of money, papers, arms, and instruments, and abandoned to my fate. I had to trace this rocky path naked and barefoot, scorched by day and frozen by night, for it was in the depth of the Egyptian winter. I continued for two days without food or water, and the first nourishment of which I partook was some raw wheat from a sack, which, swelling in the stomach, had nearly proved fatal to me.

When I lay down at Kosseir I was unable to rise again, or to support the weight of my body, from the wounded state of my swollen and lacerated feet. A mutiny of the soldiery, and a general commotion among the people here, rendered it impossible to obtain a passage by sea from hence to any part of the opposite coast;

besides which, as my instruments were gone, my labours would have availed but little in the task originally intended, that of examining nautically and hydrographically the upper part of the Red Sea.

I retraced my steps to Keneh without interruption, by taking another route, descended the Nile rapidly without suffering any impediments to retard the progress of our vessel, and again reposed from my toils in the hospitable mansion of Colonel Missett, one of the most amiable and worthy of men.

During my second stay at Cairo, I applied myself with great zeal to the study of the Arabic language, of which I had already acquired a slight knowledge colloquially, and after making some progress in it, assumed the dress of an Egyptian Fellah, crossed the desert of Suez to examine its port, returned by a more northern route to explore the traces of the ancient canal which had connected the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, visited Bubastis, Tanis, and other celebrated ruins, with the Lake of Menzaleh, in the Lower Egypt, crossed from Damietta along the edge of the Delta to Rosetta, and returned at length to Alexandria, the original point of my departure.

At this period, the Egyptian government were desirous of getting some large and fast-sailing vessels into the Red Sea; but, Mohammed Ali being refused permission to send ships round the Cape, and disappointed in promised supplies from India, I offered to undertake the work of restoring the ancient canal, which I had just returned from examining, or of transporting two beautiful American brigs belonging to the Pasha, which then lay in the harbour of Alexandria, across the desert to Suez. The practicability of these operations was satisfactorily explained to our Consul-general, Colonel Missett, through whom the correspondence officially passed, and he gave it his warm support; but they were undertakings which the Turks could neither sufficiently appreciate nor accurately comprehend.

My study of the Arabic language was resumed, and continued during my second stay here, till a more favourable occasion offering for the prosecution of my intended voyage to India, I left Alexandria, and came now by the way of the canal and the ruins of Hermopolis Parva, on the west of the Nile, to Cairo.

From this capital I again set out, wearing the dress of a Mam-louk, and associating with the soldiery, and accompanied a catavan of five thousand camels, and about fifty thousand pilgrims, for Mecca.

We embarked at Suez, having with us the Harem of the Egyptian Pasha, who were going to the Holy City to perform their pilgrimage, and to greet their lord on his triumphant return from the Wahabee war.

We sailed. The vessel in which I was embarked upset in a squall, and was nigh to foundering; several lives were lost, and I myself narrowly escaped, with the loss of all that I possessed except my papers.

We arrived at Jedda. I was so ill from a combination of sufferings, as to be obliged to be carried on shore in a litter. The project which I had entertained of going to Mecca from hence was defeated by the necessity of making myself known, or dying of want.

The Suffenut-ul-Russool, a ship under English colours, arrived from India. I was taken on board her at the request of her humane commander, Captain Boog, and through his kind and friendly attentions I recovered rapidly. Mr. Burckhardt, who was then at Mecca on pilgrimage, and to whom I sent a messenger, came down to see me, and remained with me for several days. Besides the consolations of his valuable society, I received from him the warmest and most unequivocal proofs of his friendship. He left us, and I heard from him again by a letter which he had written to me from Medina.

We prosecuted our voyage to India, and arrived at Bombay; the only benefit I had yet reaped from it being the collection of

materials for a more accurate chart of the Red Sea than any now in use.

After a stay of some months in India, I returned again to Egypt by the same channel, in company with Mr. Babington, a fellow-voyager, to whom I owe more than any public testimony or private acknowledgment can ever repay. Previous to our leaving India, we had furnished ourselves with all the books to be procured, that would in any way illustrate the track we were about to pursue. The liberality of my friends, who were lovers of science and promoters of useful knowledge in every department, enabled me to furnish myself again with instruments for surveying; and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* offered us a fine field for commentary and correction.

We quitted India in one of the East India Company's ships of war. As it was the tempestuous monsoon, it obliged us to make the southern passage, by which means we saw a great deal of the eastern coast of Africa, from Azania and Adel to the Bay of Zeyla, and I had before traced the shores of Yemen from Bab-el-Mandeb to Dosar. Positions were established, views of remarkable lands taken, hydrographical errors corrected, and much light thrown on the learned disquisitions of Vincent upon the work which he had so laboriously illustrated.

We landed at Mokha, and from thence our passage up the Red Sea was altogether made in native vessels. This gave us opportunities of surveying, which could not otherwise have been enjoyed, with the advantage of touching at every port and creek in our way from Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez.

The voyage from India had been long and tedious, occupying nearly six months; but we accumulated in it such a valuable mass of hydrographical information as was of itself an ample reward for our labours, though these were indefatigable; and in addition to this acquisition, the mineralogy and geological features of the Arabian shores had been illustrated by specimens which were thought worthy of the thanks of the Geological Society of London, to whom they were presented.

I met my former friend, Mr. Burckhardt, a third time at Cairo, on the point of setting out, as he then thought, for the interior of Africa. My stay in Egypt was very short, however, on this occasion.

The mercantile community of India being desirous of having some more explicit assurances of protection than they had yet received from the reigning government of Egypt, a treaty of commerce was framed and entered into by Mohammed Ali Pasha, for himself; the British Consul, for the subjects of his nation in Egypt; and myself, on behalf of my Indian friends.

This it was thought advisable to transmit to India as speedily as possible; and as it would be of infinite advantage to accompany it by personal explanations, it was proposed to me to be the bearer of it; first, because no one was more intimately acquainted with all the facts requiring explanation than myself; and, secondly, that it was intended that I should return to Egypt in charge of the first ships which might be sent to re-open the trade.

The passage by the Red Sea was now shut by the prevalence of the southerly winds, and there was no hope of a speedy voyage by that channel. The route by Syria and Mesopotamia was chosen, and this I undertook to follow.

It was from this period, that the Travels announced in the present volume commenced; and the object of this introductory narrative has been to show; that I set out on them with some very ordinary qualifications, it is true, but, yet with some very essential advantages. I possessed an ardour in the pursuit of enquiry and research, which all my previous sufferings had not in the least abated. I enjoyed a sound constitution, and great physical strength, with a capacity of conforming to foreign manners, from having been the greater part of my life out of England; and an intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom I was about to associate; as well as a sufficient knowledge of their language for all the ordinary purposes of life, or such as did not include a critical acquaintance with their science or their literature.

Whether, with such qualifications as these, I shall be found to have fulfilled the expectations which the mention of them may excite, I cannot presume even to anticipate. Thus much is to be offered in extenuation.

First, That the notes were not intended for publication at the time of their being made, but, with much that I had written before, were preserved chiefly for the illustration of my own reading, and for subsequent transmission to one whose interest in all that could befall me was such as to render the most desultory and imperfect observations of more than common value in her esteem.

Secondly, That my journeys were often through countries, where writing, drawing, or minutely surveying any subject, would have been fatal; where we often travelled with our hands upon our swords, and our eyes keenly watching for secret plunderers, or more open enemies.

Thirdly, That the books which I had read, the leading features of them only being generally fresh in my memory, were not at all accessible to me throughout the route for their details; though my preparatory extracts from them were very numerous.

In the course of this journey, I saw the greater part of Palestine, and the country beyond the Jordan; traversed the eastern parts of Moab, Bashan Gilead, and the Auranites; crossed Phœnicia and the higher parts of Syria, in various directions from Baalbek by the snowy and cedar-crowned summits of Lebanon to the sea-coast, and from Antioch, by the ever-verdant banks of the Orontes, to Aleppo. I journeyed through Mesopotamia, by Ur of the Chaldees, to Nineveh and Babylon; and visited the great living cities of Diarbekr, Mosul, and Baghdat in the way. I went from Ctesiphon and Seleucia by Dastagherd on the plains, and the pass of Zagras, through the mountains into Persia; and visited Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Shapoor, among the ancient, with Kermanshah, Hamadan, Isfahan, and Shiraz, among the modern cities of Iran. This journey of twelve long months was protracted by dangers and obstacles, which no one had foreseen, and rendered tedious by re-

peated illness, arising from sufferings and privations in the way. My recovery from these, I owed, in one instance, to the hospitable attentions I received in the convent of Mar Elias, from the hands of the amiable Lady Hester Stanhope, a name that deserves to be immortalized, if talents and virtues of the highest order give claim to immortality; and, in another, to the friendly offices of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in the bosom of whose family at Baghdad, I found all the consolations which benevolence and sympathy could bestow, and all the pleasures that learning, accomplishments, and refined taste could yield. When this long journey terminated at last, by returning me again to the society of my friends in India, it was the warm and incessant request of all who knew any thing of my labours that I would bring them before the public eye.

I had the happiness, during my stay at Bombay, to live in a circle distinguished by the erudition, as well as the urbanity of its members. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wedderburn, Dr. Steuart and Mr. Ashburner, with the ladies of the last two, are names which no tribute of mine can raise higher than they already stand in the estimation of all who know them.

It was in this circle that the idea of publication was first conceived. It was urged on me as a duty: it was advised as a means of acquiring reputation: it was suggested as a source of profit: it was hinted at as the only way to avoid reproach. The last consideration weighed with me, I think, more powerfully than all the others. I could not suffer it to be said, that I had enjoyed opportunities of adding to the common fund of human knowledge, and had neglected them; and though I trembled for the imperfections almost inseparable from that which is done in haste, yet the high opinion which I entertained of the judgment of those who met all my objections with new and more forcible arguments, fixed me at length in the determination.

I still retained the dress of an Arab during my second stay in Bombay, and my general appearance, aided by the gravity of a full and flowing beard, and a more perfect acquaintance with the Arabic tongue, imposed constantly on the natives as well as Europeans,

even when no disguise was aimed at; and a constant occurrence of anecdotes arose out of this deception: I had retained this dress, expecting that I might be called on to return again to Egypt, when it would have been useful; but the Egyptian prospects being less encouraging than they had been at first, the command of a ship was offered me for the Persian Gulf. My duties to others rendered it eligible to accept it, and the preparation of my papers for the press was necessarily interrupted. We sailed. A tempestuous voyage, as far as the latitude of 10° south, in this stormy monsoon, before we could make our westing and bear up for the northward, with none but very young and inexperienced officers to assist in the duties of the ship, so occupied my attention, that I had but little time to spare. From the moment of our entering the Persian Gulf, my duties became more urgent and pressing, and even such time as I could command while in that sea, was wholly devoted to the illustration of Arrian's voyage of Nearchus, with Vincent's dissertations on it; to the collection of materials for improving the charts of the Gulf now in use; and to the enlargement and correction of a memoir which I had drawn up before, (when at Ras-ul-Khyma, the principal port of the Arab pirates, acting as interpreter between the pirate chief and the commander of a British squadron), on the rise and progress of this piratical tribe, with a series of their depredations, the history of our operations against them, and the subsequent events that these had given birth to.

At Bussorah, Bushire, and Muscat, my Arabic studies were continued; and while at sea, my whole attention was divided among the subjects enumerated; so that I returned to Bombay with a fresh stock of new materials, but no further arrangement of the old ones. We sailed from hence in order to complete our voyage, touching at most of the ports on the Malabar coast, at Colombo and Point de Galle in Ceylon, and at Madras and Vizagapatam on the coasts of Coromandel and Golconda, when we arrived at Calcutta. The incessant occupations of so busy and so

varied a voyage as this, left me, however, no leisure for the task hitherto so long postponed; so that I may be said to have reached the capital of India with my materials as crude and undigested as at the moment my journey ended.

Here, the encouraging hope of receiving the distinguished patronage of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, the very flattering encomiums bestowed on the nature of my undertakings by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the animating commendations of my scientific and worthy friend, Colonel Mackenzie, the Surveyor General of India, and the warm and hearty encouragement given to me by the learned and excellent Dr. Lumsden, Professor of Arabic in the College of Fort William, stimulated me to fresh exertions; and by unwearied application, during the detached intervals of leisure which could be allowed me from amid other duties, I have endeavoured to condense these materials into the smallest possible compass without detracting from their interest, and to arrange them for publication.

It would be anticipating what will be better done, perhaps, by severer judges, to say any thing regarding the style, the arrangement, or the matter of the work. Some few preliminary remarks, I must, however, be permitted to make.

At every step of a traveller's progress through Palestine, his indignation is so roused by attempted impositions on his judgment, and sometimes even on his senses, that his warm expression of it, in pouring forth epithets of contempt for such absurdities, may sometimes be conceived to display a contempt for religion itself. Wherever the reader meets with such passages, he is intreated in the true spirit of that Christian charity, "which is not easily provoked, which thinketh no evil, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," to put the most favourable construction on the passage that it will bear; and if the best of these is bad, to pass it by.

There are some anecdotes detailed, more particularly those witnessed at Jerusalem, which may be thought also unfit for the

public eye, but they are too descriptive of the state of manners there to be wholly omitted. If I have given a colouring to these which is not in conformity with the reigning taste, I request the reader to pass them over in silence also, and attribute both these defects rather to my ignorance of the state of public feeling on these subjects among my own countrymen, from having mixed much more with foreigners, than to any wish of mine to shock the prejudices of the one class, or to offend the delicacy of the other.

With regard to the illustration of biblical and classical research, which is attempted in the following pages, I know of so many learned men who have erred in these rugged roads, that an unlettered wanderer, like myself, could scarcely hope to traverse them without often losing his path. The truly learned will, after all, however, best estimate the worth of the lights which are offered to them, since *they* know best the toils by which they are elicited, and the value even of the faintest ray to illumine a path that was before obscured by total darkness.

The opportunities which I enjoyed of visiting even those parts of Palestine most familiarly known, were accompanied with more favourable circumstances than usually falls to the lot of European travellers in these regions. Through the greater part of the country I passed as a native of it, wearing the dress and speaking the language of the Arabs, and by these means commanding a free intercourse with the people in their most unguarded moments, and opening sources of information which would otherwise have been inaccessible. From circumstances of a peculiar nature, I had occasion to cross this country in a greater number and variety of directions than has ever been done by any individual traveller before, as far as I am aware of; and although this interrupted the speed of my progress, it was attended with the advantage of enabling me to correct many geographical errors, and to verify the positions visited in these various routes.

But the most interesting portion of these Travels, and that which may be termed entirely new, is the country of Bashan and Gilead,

east of the Jordan. That stream has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge regarding the ancient Judea, since no traveller, whose works are published, has yet explored the countries beyond it. Dr. Seetzen, a German, and Mr. Burckhardt, a Swiss, the only persons who had visited them, are since dead, and their discoveries here are scarcely known even by name. Yet, independently of the high interest which this portion of the Jewish possessions cannot fail to excite in the minds of all those for whom the illustration of scriptural topography and sacred history have any charms, its importance, as the seat of ten Roman cities, giving the name of Decapolis to the region in which they were seated, must rouse the curiosity of the scholar to know something of its present state. The positions established here, of some among the threescore cities of Og, the king of Bashan, in the mountains of Gilead, will gratify the biblical enquirer; the ruins of some of the chief cities of the Decapolis will furnish food for the antiquarian; and the Greek inscriptions copied from amidst these ruins, will be interesting to the classical student and the man of letters.

My knowledge of Arabic enabled me also to collect much information as to the names of places that were not actually seen, but were yet within reach of our route; and it will be found that most of the leading features of the topography of this portion of the Jewish possessions, whether mountains, streams, or cities, were in this way identified with those described in the histories of Moses, Joshua, and their successors.

Many of the vignettes are from original drawings, made after sketches taken on the spot; and as this is the least expensive and humblest way of adding graphic illustrations of the text, appropriate subjects have been selected from other sources, but invariably with a view to the elucidations of scenery, costume, or manners, and the accurate representations of places spoken of in the body of the work.

The introduction of a miniature portrait may seem to display an

ostentatious desire of being known by the figure of one's person, as well as by one's labours. The history of it is this. The many amusing anecdotes to which my being dressed in the Turkish manner had given rise, induced the artist, Mr. Jukes, to request that I would sit to him for my picture. When finished, it was pronounced to be so perfect a resemblance, and the costume was altogether so well preserved, that it was determined to have it engraved. There are few persons, I believe, who in reading the travels of any man, have not desired to know more minutely what were the leading features of his person, and what was the description of dress in which he performed his journey. To such readers this, which cannot be surpassed in fidelity, will be acceptable; there are none, it is hoped, by whom it will be deemed intrusive.

The ancient map of Palestine is taken, with very trifling alterations, from D'Anville, as the most generally known and approved authority on this subject, and the one most frequently referred to.

The map of the route pursued in these Travels has been laid down with great care, entirely from my own observations, and, in order to include many places altogether omitted in the ancient map, it is constructed on a larger scale, and the face of the country through which we passed is accurately delineated thereon.

The plan of the ancient Jerusalem, from the best authorities, is that which usually accompanies the works of Josephus; and will illustrate, better than any written description, the changes which have taken place in the site of this city.

The plan of the present aspect of the country, and the chief positions around the modern Jerusalem, has been constructed entirely from my own observations on the spot. It cannot fail to be interesting in itself, and illustrative, as a companion to the preceding one, of the changes which this celebrated capital of Judea has undergone.

The plan of the ruins of Geraza, in the country of the Decapolis, beyond the Jordan, is laid down also from actual observations; cor-

rected by two subsequent visits to the spot ; as well as the plans of particular edifices, amid the interesting remains of this ancient city. And the Greek inscriptions found on the friezes, columns, and altars there, have been copied with the utmost care, and given as nearly as possible in their original form.

I wish I could have added to these the valuable drawings of my friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Wm. Bankes, M. P. These I had no time to copy, though I am sure his liberality would have admitted of it ; for while he was engaged in taking them, I was occupied in increasing our common store in another way. It is to be hoped, however, that with the illustration which this gentleman's known talents, pure taste, and extensive erudition, will be able to give to his fine collection of views in this country, and in Nubia, they will not remain long from the public.

The work is thus offered to the public as perfect as the humble talents, the interrupted leisure, and the limited means of the author would admit of its being made. He has endeavoured, however, amidst all these obstacles, to render it worthy of the patronage of men of learning, as well as general readers ; and he is confident, that to all those who feel an interest in the elucidation of scriptural history and geography, that portion of these volumes which treats of the countries east of the Jordan, will be found to possess more merit than the mere charm of novelty ; while the pictures of a new country and a new people, which these hitherto unexplored regions unfold, cannot be destitute of interest, even to those who read only for amusement. It is in the humble hope that all classes of readers will find something to repay their search, that the Travels in Palestine are thus offered to the community at large, and in the earnest desire of their approbation, that they are now sent forth to receive their award.

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CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE FROM EGYPT TO SYRIA.

DECEMBER 25th, 1815. THE many obstacles which had retarded my departure from Alexandria, from day to day, being at length removed, and a favourable wind blowing from the south-west, I took leave of my friends there, and, accompanied by Mr. Thurburn and Mr. Babington, my fellow-voyager from India to Egypt, embarked on board the vessel in which I had taken my passage for the coast of Syria on the morning of Christmas-day.

These gentlemen had the kindness to remain with me until we

were under way, and had cleared the pharos of the new harbour, when I had again to undergo the most painful of all guiltless feelings, — that of bidding adieu to tried and well-loved friends, with scarcely a hope of our ever meeting again.

When the spacious okellas of the European quarter, now crowned with the flags of her respective nations, began to sink beneath the line of the visible horizon, and the towering column of Dioclésian, the obelisk of Cleopatra, and the lofty lantern of the pharos were the only objects that remained in sight to mark the speed with which we receded from the port, I felt a degree of regret which even the ardour for new scenes was not sufficient to conquer. It was in vain that I remembered the glow of enthusiasm with which I once saluted these proud monuments of Alexandria's former glory, on my first approaching Egypt's classic shores. It was in vain that I endeavoured to recall the charm of that fairy hope which even then, amid more powerful causes for despondency than now existed, bore me lightly on my way, and strewed that way with flowers. The influence of these united feelings, often as it had supported me before, and warmly as I courted its aid, availed me nothing at the present moment; so that when the evening sun became obscured by the dark bed of western clouds into which he sunk, I yielded myself, in spite of every struggle of my judgment, to the sadness of that solitude by which I felt myself surrounded.

My eyes continued fixed upon the spot I had quitted with such regret, until the broken eminences of the shore had gradually dwindled into almost indistinguishable specks, and till at length the darkness of the night had completely shrouded even these from my view.

26th. Impatience for the return of day had forced me to quit my birth before the stars had faded; and although I expected no augmentation of happiness from the presence of the sun more than from the milder light of those orbs which were soon lost in his refulgence, yet I felt a glow of satisfaction at beholding the

first blush of dawn in the east, as it cheated me into a hope of its opening for me a day of less suffering than the preceding.

The favourable wind with which we had sailed having declined during the night, was followed by a calm ; and the current attributed to the discharge of the Nile had swept us again to the westward, so that we found ourselves within a few miles of the island and castle of Aboukir. As the day advanced, the wind freshened from the eastward, and at last settled into a steady north-east breeze.

Our captain, as well as all the passengers and crew, were desirous of returning to Alexandria, insisting with great truth that the slow progress which we should make against a strong contrary wind was not to be reckoned an advantage, when it incurred the risk of errors in night-sailing, and the dangers of a lee-shore on a shoal coast. A sense of duty, rather than a want of conviction of the justice of these remarks, induced me to urge our continuing at sea whether we made any progress on our way or not. To encourage their compliance with my request, I stated to them my professional capacity, as well as my willingness to take charge of the vessel, and conduct her navigation during the continuance of the contrary wind ; and this had the effect of making them agree unanimously to keep under sail a little longer.

The vessel in which I had embarked, was one of those called a Shuktoor, and seemed peculiar to the navigation of the Syrian coast. Its length was about thirty feet, and its extreme breadth fifteen, but being of shallow draught, its burthen could not have exceeded forty tons. Small as it was, it had three masts, two of them being fixed nearly at the extreme points of the frame, and the principal one a little before the centre of the hull. On the fore and mizen masts were carried a latteen sail, exactly similar in size and form to those worn by the Egyptian jerns, and on the main-mast were a square course, a topsail, and a top-gallant sail, all fitted like the central sails in a polacca ship, and the mast rigged in the same way.*

* See the vignette at the head of this chapter.

This vessel being chiefly employed in the transportation of corn and rice from Egypt to Syria, with the former of which she was now laden, had the security of a good deck fore and aft, with regularly raised gunwales, hatchways, &c. From the mizen-mast to the stern-post, a space of about six feet in length, a raised poop formed a small cabin, the highest part of which was less than three feet, so that it was necessary to enter it on all-fours, and when within it, to continue in a reclining posture; as even when sitting on the bare deck the body could not be held upright. The only aperture for the admission of light or air into the cabin was the door of entrance, which was exactly two feet square: more than half its interior was already occupied by baskets of rice, clusters of dates, &c. belonging to the captain; and in the centre of the foremost bulkhead, in a small recess, a dim lamp was kept constantly burning, the oil and heat of which attracted some hundreds of young cock-roaches and other insects around it.

In sails, furniture, and ground tackle, the vessel appeared to be as well furnished as those of the Levant generally are, and between her fore and main mast was carried a boat sufficiently large to contain every one on board, in the event of the vessel's foundering or stranding on the coast.

The captain and his crew, altogether ten in number, were Syrian Arabs of the Greek religion, and their persons and dresses, as well as their language, evinced a singular mixture of the native manners of their country with the acquired ones of their church. In the management of their vessel, they were unskilful, and of navigation none of them appeared to have any knowledge. An English compass stood in a binnacle before the helmsman, but he very seldom regarded it; and no account was taken either of the rate or of the courses steered, beyond a general aim to make as much northing and easting as possible, and trust to a look-out for avoiding dangers.

Among them all, the most perfect equality seemed to exist, and no one appeared to have any peculiar charge while the vessel was

at sea ; as on several occasions the oldest sailor was employed in cooking, the youngest at the helm, and the captain holding-on a brace, or hauling out a bow-line. The same equality entered into their amusements when card-parties were formed on the deck, in which every individual of the crew joined by turns : as they did not play for money, the losers were condemned to undergo some ridiculous penance, and, among others, it fell to the lot of the captain, in the course of the day, to suffer himself to be plunged overboard, and ducked beneath the surface of the water by each of the victors, and again to perform some feats of activity, while burthened with a load of baskets and other packages suspended around his neck. Amid the bursts of laughter excited by these ludicrous exhibitions, there was neither the slightest appearance of anger or ill-humour in the suffering party, nor of malicious triumph on the part of those who witnessed them.

Besides the crew, there were on board two Mahomedan passengers, one a Syrian Turk, the other a respectable Arab trader from Tunis, some Muggrebin Moors, and a Syrian Christian merchant, with four others apparently attached to his establishment, and partaking of his fare. The Barbary trader and the Syrian merchant, though differing essentially in their religion, and liable to jealousies, from their pursuit of the same object, and though these differences were marked by external badges calculated to nourish pride in the one and mortification in the other, seemed to associate together with unusual harmony. They jointly occupied a small space left open in the main hatchway, and smoked their pipes and drank their coffee together in a social equality that did honour to the feelings of both. The Moors from Barbary lay in the boat upon each other, and the Christians stretched themselves along on different parts of the deck ; while the crew, who were not divided into watches, either slept, or sang, or played, or were engaged in duty, as the occasion demanded.

The small cabin already described was the part of the ship appropriated to my accommodation ; but though it had been digni-

fied by the captain with the epithet of "camera superba," and eighty piastres had been paid for it for so short a voyage, I crawled into it with reluctance at night, and out of it with pleasure at day-break, without entering it for a moment in the long interval between, as the deck was far preferable.

27th. The strong north-east wind had declined in the night, and at dawn it was a perfect calm. A favourable change being now apprehended, the aid of devotion was called in to hasten it, and I was soon driven from my cabin by the entrance of the captain and four of the sailors, who literally filled it, and who, until I had removed, had not room to perform their genuflections before the lamp, which was kept constantly burning to St. George, their patron saint. During their prayers, clouds of incense were offered up at this humble altar, and at sun-rise, the same censer was carried round the ship, and all, except the Mahommedans, were perfumed with its sacred odours, consecrated by the holiness of the purpose to which it had been just applied.

The calm still continued, and the current poured out by the discharge of the western branch of the Nile sent us back all the little distance which we had advanced by yesterday's hard beating. Noisy songs, accompanied by the tambour and clapping of hands, succeeded the devotions of the morning, to drive away the listless hours of the calm; and upon this again followed the card-playing described before, the penances of which were beyond measure ridiculous. Among the rest, some were condemned to have their faces marked with ludicrous emblems, others to wear pieces of cloth in the form of asses' ears springing from their temples, and others to play their cards while their arms were pinioned by a pole, and a long wooden skewer was stuck horizontally across their mustachios. The victor, in one instance, wore a flag planted in his turban, and in another was honoured with the privilege of bearing a sword, while a flat circular piece of basket-work was affixed to his left arm to represent a shield.

At 10 A.M. we had a light breeze from the northward, the sky clear, the thermometer at 68°, and the water alongside of a muddy colour and fresh taste, with about three fathoms depth. The bar at the outlet of the Rosetta branch of the Nile was now distinctly visible a-head, and a fleet of about fifty jerns* was seen coming out, bound for Alexandria, for which port the wind was highly favourable.

We continued to advance so slowly, with a scant wind and a contrary current, that at noon the vessel had scarcely changed her place or altered the bearing of the land; while the jerns going off with a flowing sheet were soon out of sight to the westward.

The wind freshened in force, but still continued in the same quarter throughout the afternoon, enabling us to stem the current of the Nile, and get into clearer and salter water.

The edge of division between the muddy stream of the river and the greener mass of the sea, was most distinctly marked, as well by their striking difference of colour as by the rippled agitation of the one, and the comparative stillness of the other. The current of the Nile rushing out at the rate of about three knots an hour to the northward, appeared to continue its force, undiminished, for nearly five miles beyond its mouth. The united resistance of the northerly wind upon its surface, and the whole body of the sea upon its under stream, could be no longer opposed; so that, weakened by these powerful causes, it curved off gradually to the westward, and occasioned the westerly set which had impeded our progress thus far.

In passing from the turbid waters of the river into the less troubled ones of the sea, we had scarcely any difference of soundings; the depth, by the lead, varying irregularly from three to three and a half and four fathoms. In both cases the ground was soft, and the mud adhering to the plummet was of a dark brown colour mixed with sand. The struggles of this celebrated stream

* جرم a large boat with latteen sails, peculiar to the Egyptian coast.

against the sea, besides recalling a world of agreeable recollections connected with my voyage along its banks, and placing before me the striking features of its fame in classic ages, reminded me very forcibly of a modern bard's description of the conflict of Oronooko with the ocean.*

We continued standing on to the eastward until sun-set, shoaling from four to three fathoms on a sandy bottom, and gradually approaching the coast to within about three miles, when we tacked off to the northward to obtain sea-room.

At 8 P. M., having made an offing into five fathoms' sand, we tacked again and stood on to the eastward, the wind still blowing from the N. N. E., but sufficiently moderate to enable us to carry all sail. In the course of the evening, we passed a boat from Cyprus to Alexandria, as supposed by the course she was steering. The night was clear, but extremely cold, the thermometer having fallen to 52°.

28th. The wind had again declined during the night, and left us nearly becalmed at day-break. The lamp of the cabin having been suffered to go out from the negligence of the boy whose duty it was to trim it, our ill-fortune with regard to wind was unhesitatingly attributed to this heinous sin of omission. A noisy altercation ensued upon the discovery of this calamity, and as the cabin was occupied by one who was not of their church, some whispers floated among the crew as to the possible influence of heretical envy and malice, which, as they passed in Arabic, I

* ————— The battle's rage
Was like the strife which currents wage,
Where Oronooko, in his pride,
Rolls to the main no tribute tide,
But 'gainst broad ocean urges far
A rival sea of roaring war;
While in ten thousand eddies driven,
The billows fling their foam to heaven;
And the pale pilot seeks in vain,
Where rolls the river where the main.

Rokeby, Canto I. 12.

perfectly understood, but to which I thought it prudent to make no reply. All hands were now summoned to prayers, and the lamp was not only again lighted, but a gilded picture of St. George slaying the dragon was produced from the captain's chest, and placed in the same recess. To this, volumes of incense were offered up, and the whole cabin was soon filled with smoke, so that the prayers which succeeded were alternately hastened through with all possible rapidity, and interrupted with the coughing produced by such suffocating clouds of perfume.

In spite of all this fervour of devotion, the wind freshened again from the north-east, and anger and disappointment taking the place of piety and fear, the poor culprit boy was tied up and severely flagellated; each of the crew, from conceiving themselves more innocent, being ready to inflict the first lash. The Mohammedans on board were highly scandalized at so impious and absurd a proceeding, and calmly asked whether the winds were not in the hands of God, who would either withhold them from us or send them to our aid as his mercy and goodness saw fit? Neither their remonstrances nor their demands produced any reply, and the punishment of the poor boy was continued without compassion. When the rest of the crew had each given a stripe, the man who on the preceding day had officiated as cook came to close the punishment, but while his arm was still uplifted to inflict the lash, the boy looked steadfastly upon him, and exclaimed in a tone of anger mixed with the firmness of determined revenge, "If you strike me, I will betray you." The man hesitated, and would have even desisted, but that the others obliged him to give the blow, and on releasing the boy, they insisted also upon his disclosing what he meant by the threat. From his answer it appeared that the crew, who were all communicants of the Greek church, were now performing the fast which precedes their feast of the Nativity, that holiday falling twelve days after the common Christmas-day, as their chronology continues still to be regulated by the old style. During the fast it was deemed sinful to partake of any flesh-meats, or even to inhale

their odour; and any breach of the rigid discipline enforced on such occasions was thought to be sufficient to draw down exemplary punishment on the offender. It had occurred in the course of the preceding day that my servant was employed at the galley in preparing for me a fowl curry, on which occasion he had unthinkingly used a wooden spoon belonging to the vessel. A large kettle of dourra * was afterwards put on the fire to be boiled for the supper of the crew, and the cook without knowing the purpose to which the spoon had been applied, used it to stir the mess while the defiling gravy of the fowl still remained upon it. The boy who had witnessed this, was sufficiently shocked to express his scruples, but was silenced by the entreaties, and at last the threats of the man; so that the whole crew had been thus made to commit a crying sin, in eating a dish of boiled corn stirred with a greasy ladle, during one of the most solemn fasts of their church.

This was considered even as a more powerful cause for the anger of Heaven than the extinction of the lamp, but as every one had shared in the actual commission of this gross enormity, they only hung their heads in apparently unaffected contrition, and were too much absorbed in reflections on the crime to inflict a punishment on him who had been the cause of it, so that the man escaped.

At noon the wind was still strong and contrary. Our soundings through the forenoon were from five to three fathoms on a soft sandy bottom, in which latter depth we tacked at about two miles off a low and barren shore, and stood to the N.N.W.

Two jermes heaving in sight to the eastward soon closed with us, and as they were apparently bound for Rosetta or Alexandria, I prepared a short letter for Colonel Missett, while our colours were displayed as a signal of our wish to communicate. At one P.M., the sternmost vessel dropped alongside, and the letter was thrown on board, rolled in a piece of canvas, and rendered heavy by the enclosure of five piastres as a present to ensure its safe delivery.

* *ḏūr* the name given to millet in Egypt and Syria.

We here tacked again, and stood along the coast to the eastward, the weather fine, wind N.N.E., water smooth, and thermometer 65° at 2 P.M.

Throughout the afternoon we continued to advance at the slow rate of about a mile an hour, our soundings varying from five to four fathoms at a distance of about three miles from the shore.

At sunset having land open, off our weather-bow, which it would be impossible for us to clear on our present course, we tacked off to the northward, with an encreasing breeze and a heavy swell setting from the E.N.E.

The night was dark and cloudy, and the thermometer at 50° at 10 P.M., a degree of cold which made us all feel uncomfortable.

29th. We had tacked to the eastward at midnight, and at dawn were still struggling against a scant wind and contrary current, with the coast of the Delta barely visible under our lee.

Fresh arguments and remonstrances against the inutility of continuing at sea, contending with the elements without a hope of successfully opposing them, were again poured upon me at the moment of my crawling from my cabin even before I could raise myself from my position of all-fours to meet my adversaries face to face.

The captain and the crew were as strenuous as before in their opinions that we should return to port, where they said they had the pleasure of living chiefly on shore, of hearing the news and chit-chat of the coffee-houses, and where they slept tranquilly every night; whereas here, besides the toil and fatigue of buffeting the winds and waves, their food was scanty, their nights passed in constant watching, and their apprehensions of danger kept alive by the length of the darkness and the nature of the coast.

If the crew, however, were *earnest* in their advice, the passengers were *vehement* in their declamation, and scrupled not to call me "an ignorant and headstrong fool," for persisting in a course which, without one apparent advantage resulting from it, positively prolonged the suffering and inconvenience of every one on board,

and seemed like a defiance of the Almighty Power, by courting an unnecessary exposure to certain and continual risk.

This last sentence so worked upon the piety of every one, both Mahommedans and Christians, as nearly to have decided our fate; for it was no sooner uttered than orders were given to bear up, and the helm was actually clapped a-weather and the after-sheets let go.

Alone and unsupported as I was, (for even my old servant stood a silent spectator of the scene,) I hesitated for a moment what step to take, until remembering how often I had seen sturdy perseverance prevail against every obstacle, I ran to the helm and luffed the vessel once more to the wind, feigning at the same time an anger which I did not really feel, and calling them by the opprobrious epithets of cowards, women-hearted, hares, and husbandmen, terms of the greatest reproach to sailors in their language.

My cause would have been completely lost, however, had I not assured the Reis * that his emancipation from the avarice of the Egyptian government was entirely dependent on the British Consul at Alexandria, and that if he dared to return to that port without being driven there by absolute distress, I would not fail to represent his conduct as being in direct opposition to my wishes.

This was enough: the fear of losing money operated more powerfully than any other consideration; and though the murmurs of the passengers were not so easily quelled, yet the captain was henceforth all submission, and the order was given to haul aft the sheets and trim the sails to the wind again.

During the forenoon the breeze freshened so considerably as to oblige us to reduce our canvass, and a heavy swell set us constantly to leeward upon the Delta shore, our soundings varying from six to four fathoms irregularly.

* ريس a chief, head, &c. applied to all pilots and commanders of vessels.

At noon we were within a mile of the mouth of the Lake Booroolos, on the western beach of which are seen the remains of a square building. Over the eastern land we could perceive the masts of boats upon the lake itself, and a short distance to the eastward the minareh * of a mosque, the dome of a saint's tomb, and several clusters of date-trees. The whole line of the coast is here composed of yellow sand-hills from forty to fifty feet in height, loose and shifting in their nature, and completely barren; the few date-trees seen over them being situated on a firmer soil within. A minareh and the appearance of dwellings is seen about a mile farther to the eastward than those already mentioned. Beyond this the coast runs in nearly a north-east direction for four or five miles, forming a continued chain of yellow and barren sand-hills, until it terminates in the low cape called Ras-el-Booroolos, off which the British ship *Jiuste* was wrecked in March, 1814.

Having stood into three fathoms water, with discoloured patches and broken ground all around us, we tacked off to the northward in order to weather the cape. In reviewing the coast from every point of direction, I felt the same impressions as those which my land-journey along its shores had before suggested; namely, that its appearance was unfavourable to the idea of the Delta being wholly the gift of the Nile, and that whatever changes might have been produced at the apex of this island by the alluvium of the river, its base being composed of sand-hills and salt-lakes extending many leagues in-shore, betrays the strongest symptoms of its being entirely gained from the sea, and of the river never having reached it to leave any of its deposit there.

The wind still freshening with a heavy sea, we tacked at sunset and stood along the coast to the eastward, having six and five

* The name applied peculiarly to the tall and slender tower of a mosque, either from the Arabic word, منار, a candlestick, lamp, light-house, or pharos; or from the Persian word, مینار, a tower or spire in general.

fathoms by the way. The night was dark, cloudy, and uncomfortably cold.

30th. The wind had now settled into a strong north-east gale, and the vessel being laden to within about ten inches of her upper railway, and at least six inches above her deck, the sea not only made a complete breach over her, but we became in danger of foundering by the water lodging on her deck without finding an outlet overboard. Fresh cries to return to port were therefore raised on all sides, and there was in the present case too evident a foundation for their fears to treat them as before.

From the estimated distance which we had advanced during the night, we had reason to believe ourselves abreast of Damietta, for which port I recommended them to bear up, if they were determined to seek shelter any where. At the same time, however, I endeavoured to dissuade them from the measure by urging the danger of the experiment if we should find ourselves too far to leeward of the bar on nearing the coast, and assuring them that by the exertions of the crew in baling the water off the deck as it entered, we might yet keep the sea without imminent danger. "To Alexandria, to Alexandria!" was the united cry, and nothing could have deterred them from the execution of this step but the sense of shame which I endeavoured to excite in them by every epithet but that of men and sailors.

To follow up this volley of reproaches by an example of encouragement, my servant and myself commenced baling in the lee-waist with buckets; and in little more than half an hour the deck was perfectly clear. We next had all the weighty and bulky articles, with which the deck was crowded fore and aft, removed in amid-ships to ease the vessel's rolling and plunging in the sea, and being now under a double-reefed topsail and course, with all the smaller sails furled, we lay-to in safety.

The tone of command which I had thus unwillingly, but, as I thought, prudently assumed, seemed to give great offence to the passengers; but as they were all now helpless from sea-sickness

their murmurs were of less avail. The captain and the crew, on the other hand, though they at first expressed some repugnance at my opposition to their wishes, subsequently evinced a confidence in my direction beyond even my expectation ; for the bare suggestion of a sail being badly trimmed, a rope too taut, or the helm ill managed, was sufficient to obtain the necessary amendment of the evil.

We all passed the day uncomfortably, the breaking sea rendering it impossible to cook any food ; and the violent motion of the vessel making it difficult even to read. At sunset we were cheered by a hope of the gale's abating.

31st. The morning dawned upon us with brighter prospects ; the gale had abated, our reefs were shaken out, and as we were still in shoal water the swell of the sea was rapidly subsiding.

A temporary evil offered considerable annoyance to the passengers, who had just risen as from the dead. The stock of firewood was expended to the last splinter, and not even sufficient could be mustered to prepare for them their morning cup of coffee. All tongues conspired to brand me as the cause of this and every other privation they had suffered, and the mortification was now the greater to them, as when they again reiterated " To port, to port !" I consented readily to their return, there being now an irregular swell and scarcely wind enough to make the vessel answer to her helm.

At noon we had an air from the eastward, and expecting that it would draw round more southerly in the course of the day, we stood on the larboard tack S. S. E., having good sea-room and no land in sight. In the afternoon, a vessel passed under our lee standing to the westward, from some Syrian port ; and at sunset the wind had drawn more northerly, and freshened again into a strong breeze, obliging us to furl our small sails and reef our larger canvass. We now hauled up east, standing on that course with ten fathoms water, and no land in sight even from the mast-head.

1st January, 1816. The wind had entirely forsaken us again soon after midnight, and at dawn it was a perfect calm. All eyes were directed to the quarter from whence the breeze was desired, and every imagination pictured some favourable omen even in a cloudless sky. An unusual degree of devotion was also exercised on the occasion; as no one either ate, or drank, or smoked, or relieved the helm, or cast off or belayed a rope, without first crossing himself, and pointing to the five wounds of the crucified Messiah on his own body. Long prayers, with many kisses, were bestowed on the pictures of the patron saints, who were produced in full assembly; and clouds of incense filled every part of the vessel. A sum of money was then collected by subscription, to which we all contributed, Mahommedans and Christians; and this being enclosed in a white rag was suspended to the head of the tiller, with prayers for its efficacy, and vows for its appropriation to some holy purpose, in the event of our obtaining a favourable wind by the intercession of the saints to whom it was jointly offered.

The calm still continued, broken only at intervals by fleeting airs from the S. E., of a dry and suffocating nature, while the heat of the sun was scorching. On the preceding evening the wind had blown strong from the N. N. E., bringing with it the cold of the Caramanian mountains on the south coast of Asia Minor, now covered with snow, and the thermometer stood then at 47° , about ten P. M., beneath the deck; and all the covering I could collect was insufficient to keep me warm; while to-day the mercury rose to 95° in the shade, and during the hot blasts which came off from the desert shore to the S. E. of us, even that degree of the thermometer can give but a faint idea of the oppression which this striking change occasioned.

As every one now gladly threw off the load of clothes which had before been rendered necessary by the severity of the cold, it had the beneficial effect of furnishing the most indolent with occupation. The vermin, with which ships like these and the crews

of them invariably swarm, having lain dormant during the late unfavourable weather, had begun to feel the genial influence of its change, and had become highly troublesome by their awakened activity. Every one on board, therefore, not even excepting myself, (who had certainly quitted Alexandria clean, at least,) was employed during the middle of the day in stripping off every garment and destroying the hosts of enemies by which we were tormented.

2d. Still calm; water reduced to the last small barrel; the third day of our being without any prepared food, from want of fuel; the boghaz * of Damietta, with boats in its channel distinctly visible from the deck, after seven days hard beating against a contrary wind.

The day was one continued scene of uproar and quarrel, the noise of which, added to the harshness of the Syrian Arabic, in which all these vociferations of reproach and abuse were uttered, was absolutely distracting. Towards evening we had light airs from the westward, variable and of short duration. The energies and attention of the crew were now requisite to profit by every breath that blew, but the discordance of the day seemed to have rendered them as stupid as they were ill-humoured, and though the wind was always abaft the beam, the vessel was caught aback, and suffered to fall round four times in the space of as many hours.

Our soundings through the day had varied from ten to fifteen fathoms, and our water was growing deeper and of a bluer colour as we advanced, nor had we apparently any longer to contend with the strong contrary current which we had found setting from the eastward along the whole coast of the Delta.

We continued to steer in a N.E. direction until near midnight,

* A name applied to bars of rivers and harbours, and even to narrow passes on shore; probably a Turkish word, though now in common use by the Arabs here, and perhaps derived from the Persian , a wedge.

without any account of our course or distance being kept, when the westerly breeze again deserting us, we were left becalmed with the weather dark and cloudy.

3d. We had made scarcely any progress during the night, and had now again to linger out another day amid light eastern airs of scarcely sufficient strength to fill the sails. On the preceding evening the water of the sea had given forth on the least agitation that sparkling appearance which has been called phosphoric, and in drawing up some of it in a bucket this morning, it was observed to be full of small fish-spawn. The colour of the water in its mass was of a deep indigo blue, and no soundings could be obtained with about forty fathoms of line.

Under an idea that our voyage would have been short, as well as from the difficulty of sending back any thing from Syria to Egypt without great risk, I had left at Alexandria all my nautical instruments, though at the present moment I regretted extremely that I had not with me a sextant, large compass, and lead line, as they would have enabled me to make many observations through this tedious navigation which would have been of probable utility, and at least have furnished me with agreeable occupation. Destitute as we were, of either chart or reckoning, we could give but a wide guess at the vessel's place, so that the different estimates of the crew themselves made us from eighty to two hundred and fifty miles off the Syrian coast. Amid these doubtful opinions as to our distance from land, the evils under which we laboured were but too certain, as not a broken oar or fragment of dunnage could be found for fire-wood, and our small stock of water was constantly diminishing, without even the hope of rain to recruit it, while a desert coast under our lee was the only one to which we could direct our course in case of still more pressing necessity.

4th. Easterly airs still prevailing, we made only a few miles of northing through the night, and were this morning again becalmed. Notwithstanding the privations to which we were now reduced, the want of unanimity among the crew, and the discordant

yell of rage, reproof, and despair, which was incessantly heard in every part of the ship, were still greater evils. The crew reproached the Reis with a failure of duty in not having laid in a sufficient stock of water for the voyage, the Reis retorted on the crew their want of prudence in the wasteful consumption of it. The passengers suggested that as both these parties had been in different ways the causes of the evil, according to their own mutual accusations, it was but fair that they should suffer its effect the most severely. Divided as they were before against each other, they now both united in insisting that the passengers not belonging to the vessel ought to have brought their own water with them, and that in truth they had not the most distant right to that which was laid in for the crew.

The Mohammedans exclaimed, "La Illah ul Ullah! Mohammed el Russool Ullah!"* The Christians answered, "Ya Mobareck! Ya Rub! Ya Kereem!"† and when, to unite all parties, I proposed that the remaining quantity of water should now be divided among all on board, in equal portions, to be used by each according to his own discretion; or that, every morning, a daily measure should be given to each by the captain himself, every one objected to such a proposition, and seemed to think that he should somehow or other be cheated in such a division.

In the mean time all spirit of exertion was extinguished among the crew. They would not man the boat to tow, since that would create an additional thirst; and they suffered the vessel when caught aback to fall off slowly herself, and come round on the same tack without starting a sheet or a brace, since they would all require to be hauled taut again. The Reis had entirely lost his influence among the crew, and every one did as seemed best to him. The apparent ambition of all was to adopt a tone of authority, and to be the last and loudest in dispute; so that, although

* There is no god but God, — Mohammed is the apostle of God.

† O blessed! O Lord and Master! O beneficent!

partial airs arose from different quarters of the compass, by which we might have profited to advance a few miles at least, the helm was neglected, the yards lay untrimmed, and we drifted about in every direction like a bark abandoned to despair.

5th. The moon had set in a dark bed of rising clouds, and the whole appearance of the night portended a western gale. Not more than twenty quarts of water, and this extremely foul, now remained for the subsistence of about twenty persons on board, so that the anxiety with which every eye was directed to the quarter from whence the wind was desired may be conceived.

The dawn opened, however, and not a breath of air was yet stirring. Prayers and incense were again resorted to, and the tone of all those engaged in offering them had sunk from confidence to melancholy despair. The men were evidently terrified at the prospect of approaching death, and their whole conduct in this respect formed a striking contrast to the calm resignation of the Mohammedans on board, who continued to preserve all their former tranquillity and console themselves with the assurance of their prophet, "God is great and merciful, and what he has decreed must come to pass."

When prayers were ended, a straw mat on which the captain slept was let down into the sea, and with the shreds of another mat torn up for the purpose, a fire was kindled thereon, and the whole was pushed from the vessel's side, as a burnt offering to the gods of the winds. I had at first conceived that the object of this was chiefly to mark the direction which the smoke would take when free from the influence of those eddies always occasioned by the flapping of the ship's sails in a calm; but it afterwards appeared that it was in every sense a sacrifice, from the peculiar marks of which our future fate was to be augured. If the flame burnt clear and bright, so as to be distinguished plainly through the thick smoke of the damp straw, if it continued unextinguished until the fuel became a heap of ashes, and if it returned not again to the vessel but drifted in some other course, all these were to be so

many proofs that the fire thus kindled should triumph over the element on which it floated, and that the god to whom it ascended had heard our prayers, and would not suffer that element to witness our destruction. Every omen was favourable, the mat floated from us from the mere impulse with which it was pushed from the ship, and the heat of the flame was sufficient amid the stillness of the calm to attract around it a sensible motion of the colder air so as to feed the fire till most of the fuel was consumed.

The joy of every one was not only extreme, but almost as boisterous as their rage and disappointment on the preceding day ; and to crown the whole, in less than an hour afterwards, the glassy surface of the waters began to be ruffled by light airs from the south and from the west.

At noon it had strengthened into a fresh breeze, the bow-lines were checked, and the weather-braces rounded in, every sail was carefully trimmed, and we foamed along our whitened path amid the curling waves of the deep blue sea, while the bounding motion of our vessel was like the exulting joy that agitated every gladdened heart within her.

Had it even been possible, it would have been perhaps a pity to damp the ardour of such general happiness by the cold philosophy of physics, or the dry doctrines of causes and effects ; but had Newton himself appeared before this assembly, his demonstrations would have availed nothing to disturb the firm persuasion which reigned in the minds of all on board that their faith in the morning sacrifice had alone procured for them the opening of the clouds of heaven, and the gift of this favourable wind from the hand of their Almighty Ruler.

We continued to sail at about the rate of six knots, with a flowing sheet, until sunset ; in the course of which time the land had been thrice reported to be in sight from the mast-head. At about two, P.M., all hands were so confident of having seen it that preparations were already begun for anchoring in whatever port they should make, as all believed that they were too far to

the northward, while they contended among themselves whether the land thus seen were about Tarabolous or Latikea, though Cyprus had not yet appeared in our way.

Before three o'clock the imaginary hills and capes, which had excited this difference of opinion as to their names, had entirely disappeared. Soon afterwards the Reis himself exultingly recognized the entrance to the port of Beirroot, and was overjoyed thus to throw back on the crew their reproaches on his inaccuracy reckoning, if mere guess could deserve that name. All vanished of again, however, until the haze of the eastern horizon raised up another phantom to which the twilight gave a longer duration.

In the mean time our south-west wind suddenly declined and left us rolling in a long and heavy swell, which still outlived its force. The western sky grew dark, the moon hid her light in the thickest clouds, and not a star was visible; while the vivid lightning which circled the whole compass, gave a terrific aspect to the scene when its blue glare for an instant illumined the heaving waters around us. This was first followed by torrents of rain, and afterwards by strong gusts of wind from the northward and north-west, which rendered it necessary to take in every sail.

After a few hours of successive squalls and intervals of dead calm, these varying gusts settled into a strong north-west gale, accompanied by a cross swell from the opposite direction of the seas still running, which rendered our situation dangerous in the extreme. Having no central staysails, the square course was loosed to steady the vessel and hold her under steerage-way, but as the land could not be far off, however doubtful the fact of its having been seen at sunset, it would have been the height of rashness still to stand on for it in such a night; yet this was the measure insisted on by the Reis, whose terror of keeping the sea was beyond all description. Besides the ultimate and alarming evil which this threatened, it involved the more immediate one of laying the ship so completely in the hollow of the beaming swell,

that we should be in momentary danger of foundering. The deeply laden state of this low vessel was such as to deprive her of all buoyancy ; she floated, it is true, but like a dead log upon the water, never rising to the waves with the springing lightness which characterises the difference of motion between a large and a small ship, and contributes so essentially to the safety of the latter, but lying buried in the trough of the sea, while the water made a complete breach over her, and threatened to sink us by the mere weight of it upon the deck.

The alarm and confusion of the crew cannot be pictured : while one cried, " Luff, luff to the wind, or we are all lost !" a second implored, " For Heaven's sake bear up, and fly before the gale !" a third vociferated, " Give the vessel no more way, or we are inevitably wrecked on a lee-shore !" and all lifted their hands in the agony of despair, crying, " If we continue thus, nothing can save us from going to the bottom."

My own feelings amid this scene would be still more difficult to describe than that of the crew, as theirs were simply indecision and excessive terror, while mine, not by any means free from both of these, were mixed with others of a very different kind. I would have bartered all my hopes for the possession only of two able seamen who could follow my directions while I stood myself at the helm ; but alone and unassisted by a single individual, surrounded by men completely ignorant of the first principles of their profession, and animated by no sense of firmness or of duty, while they understood not a syllable of my language, and I but very imperfectly the sea-terms of theirs, I despaired of being able to apply even the remedies which apparently remained to rescue us from this horrible situation.

It was not a moment, however, for reflection, for argument, or for mild endeavours to conciliate or persuade. Whatever was to be done, was to be done quickly ; as delay would be as fatal as error. Taking the helm, therefore, into my own hands, I luffed the vessel sharp to the wind, letting go the weather-brace at the

same time, so that with the force of the wind on the weather-leech the sail flew forward of itself, and it only remained to gather in the slack of the lee-brace and bow-line to have the ship completely hove-to. All this I was able to effect alone, and the crew remained so abandoned to despair as to offer no resistance, but merely to regard me with a stupid gaze.

The benefit of the change was almost instantly felt; the ship, from heading the sea, no longer lay buried in its hollow, and except such waves as broke their curling foam when meeting her falling prow, the waters no longer swept across the decks; her plunging motion was, however, still heavy, and kept me in constant apprehension of her starting some butt or plank, and thus springing a leak, for which there would have been no remedy, as there was no pump in the ship, and her cargo was laden in bulk. With some difficulty I at length prevailed on two of the smartest of the seamen and an active and enterprising little Turkish boy on board to loose the foot of the lateen foresail and the mizen, and to furl so dangerous a sail as the large square-course, every moment liable to be taken aback and to send us down stern foremost. Under these sails, with the three central polacca-yards braced sharp to the wind, we lay-to, coming up and falling off nearly four points from the sails, being at the very extreme ends of the vessel's frame.

Lashing the helm two-thirds a-lee, in preference to trusting it into the hands of any other person, our next object was to lighten the ship as much as possible, in order to ease the violence of her pitching. From the liability to receive a sea on board, and the want of pumps to free the vessel from it again, we could not venture to open the hatches for the purpose of access to the cargo, — even the open space in the main hatchway being now closed, and the hatches battened down, while the sick and affrighted passengers, Turks, Moors, and Christians, had all crawled for refuge into my cabin, where they lay one on another almost suffocated for want of air.

We proceeded, therefore, to throw over board every thing on the

deck, among which were a large iron anchor, so heavy that nothing but the energies of the occasion could have enabled us to start it by hand from its place, two old and rusty six pounders with their carriages, a large and heavy wooden cabouse or cooking-house, the bottom of which was of brick-masonry, three or four boxes or *cafasses* *, containing the cooking utensils and provisions of ourselves and the other passengers on board, two spare spars, all the furniture of the boat excepting her rudder and two oars, including her grapple, davit, &c. &c., empty water-casks, coils of spare rope, an unshipped capstern, and, in short, every thing that added to the weight on the vessel's decks.

We should have cut away the foremast with its heavy lateen-yard, had there been an axe on board, as it was stepped almost on the vessel's stem, and oppressed her forward considerably; but to have started the rigging of the mast without being able to cut away the spar itself, would, by increasing its motion, have augmented the evil. We lowered this yard on deck, however, and getting it fore and aft, kept sufficient of the sail loose to balance the mizen in keeping her to.

There were now two anchors at the bow and a third lying athwart the forecastle, all with their respective cables coiled under the piece of deck below. - From the want of an axe or even good knives, we had still more difficulty in detaching these, by being obliged to cast off their lashings, while buried in the water and involved in pitchy darkness. In about an hour we succeeded in easing away the lee anchor with all its cable attached, and started the spare one overboard on the same side, with all its cable also, reserving only the weather-anchor as a last hope. Eased of all this burthen the vessel began to float more buoyantly upon the water, and rise to meet the waves in which she had before lain buried.

* The name given to large cases made of a close cage-work from the branches of the date-tree in Egypt, and derived from the Arabic word *تنفس*, a cage of net-work; or the Persian word, *تنس*, a cage, a lattice, a grate.

Our labours did not cease here. We repaired to the after-cabin, and still assisted only by the two seamen and the admirable little Turkish boy, proceeded to ease it of the weight which pressed on the after-part of the ship. Under other circumstances, it would have seemed an act of cruelty, but here it was one of necessity, to drag out by main force the poor, sick, and helpless wretches who had taken shelter in the cabin, as despair had deprived them both of motion and of speech. . While they lay on the deck, my poor old servant among the number, we were obliged to pass some ends of the running rigging round them, to prevent their rolling overboard; and, as it was, they were in great risk of being drowned in the water of the scuppers on each side.

When they were secured, we took from the cabin about fifty baskets of rice, twenty or thirty smaller ones of dates, some other more weighty packages of merchandize, and chests, bundles, and boxes belonging to myself, my servant, and others of the passengers and crew; leaving nothing there but my small portmanteau and our cloaks and arms. These last we removed into the boat amidships, whither we obliged also every individual on board to repair, and committed every thing else to the deep.

The boat's lashings, painter, &c., were next prepared for getting her speedily out, in the event of the vessel's foundering. The enterprising little Achmet, a boy only ten years old, whose energetic spirit and determined perseverance surpassed all I had ever witnessed in a lad of his age, was stationed on the fore-castle to look out. The two seamen, still unassisted by their shipmates, baled the water from the waist; and I myself repaired again to the helm.

6th. The occupation of the preceding night had divested it of part of its terrors; while, now that we remained in awful suspense, looking silently around us upon the breaking waves, and deafened by their continual roar, every hour seemed of more than double its accustomed length.

The benefit of our measures were, however, so evident, as to

afford us the tranquillizing consolation of having done our duty. The vessel met the sea with a seeming effort to rise above its destructive foam; the decks were clear of all that before encumbered them; no lives were yet lost, and, as far as we could perceive around us, when the lightning's glare extended the range of vision, we were still far from the worst of all a seaman's horrors, a lee shore. Hope, therefore, now in every sense our sheet-anchor in the storm, still cheered us with the prospect of our weathering the gale till morning, when we might bear up for the land in safety.

The morning came, and no language can describe the feeling with which the first glimmer of its dawn was hailed; nor were the rays which dissipated the gloom of night, welcome as they were to every eye, equal to that sunshine of joy which now illumined every heart, bursting through the darkness of absolute despair, and raising, in short, the very dead to life again.

The storm had abated only a little of its violence, yet the sea had become more regular in the direction of its swell, and the crew now quitting the boat in which they had lain, assisted us in making sail and waring the vessel round before the wind.

At sunrise land was seen, and on a nearer approach it was discovered to be the high and even range of Ras-el-Nakhora, to the northward of the bay of Acre. At eight the town of Acre was distinctly visible, appearing like a city on a hill. A watch-tower was seen on the cape itself, some villages on the highest part of the land to the northward of it, white cliffs in the same direction near the sea, and soon afterwards the town and port of Soor, ranging along the edge of the coast.

To this haven we directed our course, and, as the captain assured us that he had been often there, we stood on for its entrance with confidence. The wind still blew with great violence, and the range of high breakers, which beat against the town and extended for a long way to the northward of it, seemed to present a formidable barrier to our entrance. We crowded every sail,

which the bending mast would bear, to carry our vessel as rapidly as possible through this foam; and having the captain and one of the best men on the forecastle to direct the cunn, I stood at the helm, accompanied by the other seaman who had exerted himself with me during the night.

The nearer we approached the harbour, the more threatening the danger of its entrance seemed; and we could already perceive crowds of the inhabitants collected on the terraces of their houses near the sea, as if watching with anxiety the issue of our doubtful fate. At length a large six-oared boat hove in sight, pulling out from the town under the lee of the breakers, and stationing herself as nearly opposite to the mid-channel between them as possible. She dared not venture out to us, so that we directed our stem towards her as a sailing mark. From the waving of the pilot, who stood up in her stern, we occasionally edged to star-board or to port, and fortunately guided the vessel through the centre of a dangerous and narrow strait called the Boghaz, or bar of the harbour.

On our right, the sea beat against the rocky base of the town, as if it would shake its firmest foundations: on the left, over a range of reefs which appeared like the ruins of former buildings, roared a line of breakers that would have swept away the strongest works of man; and on both sides of us the billows flung their whitened foam into the skies, as if the elements themselves were contending in warring rage against each other; while our bark, flying with every press of sail through the mountainous waves of the centre, was thrice swept by seas breaking over her stern, which, though they accelerated her motion, made her stagger beneath their pressure, as if she never would again obey the power of her trembling helm.

The bars of Lisbon and Oporto, both of which I had seen during a gale, appeared to me, as far as I could recollect, much less terrible than this straitened pass into the harbour of Soor, though I was then at an age when terror would be magnified, as

well by ignorance as by the natural timidity of inexperienced youth.

Before noon we were safely within the haven, and letting go our only anchor, amid a torrent of hail and rain, we veered out a long scope of cable, and rode in triumph over every danger that had threatened our destruction.

When I saw the vessel thus well secured, my first determination was to quit her here, to which I was induced by other reasons than the mere risk of the navigation yet remaining to be performed. The crew had been all too much terrified by the past to venture again from port but under the most favourable auspices. The bar of the harbour could not be passed over outward until the present gale should cease; and the north-east winds, which alone would make fine weather and smooth water on the coast, would be unfavourable for the prosecution of the rest of the voyage. An anchor and cable were to be procured; provisions, water, and wood laid in; spare rope and tackling had to replace those thrown overboard in the storm; and a variety of other deficiencies to be made up, in a port which was one of the most inconsiderable along the coast for its maritime trade, where not a vessel besides our own was at this moment to be seen, and where, consequently, all these duties would be performed under a certainty of great delay. A still further detention would be sure to occur at Bairoot, for the landing of cargo, and some few days were to be reckoned as lost in dependance on wind and weather. It appeared probable, therefore, on the whole, that we should be a month at least, and perhaps even two, before the vessel would reach Latikea, by which time I might hope to get there by land, under every disadvantage of journeying through the country.

Our small stock of baggage was no more than we could each conveniently take in our own hands; and, stepping into the boat which had come off from the shore, we quitted the Shaktoor with the regrets, the thanks, and the vows of all on board for our

safety, 'since they hesitated not to attribute their own preservation entirely to the exertions made by us during the gale.

In approaching the shore, our boat had to pass over a second bar, in order to reach the landing-place, which was at the foot of a basin, apparently formed by the breaking in of the sea over ruined buildings without, the fragments of which rendered the passage narrow and difficult.

When we landed on the beach, we were received by a numerous crowd, who pressed around us, professedly to congratulate us on our safety in a place of refuge from the storm, but as well, no doubt, to gratify their curiosity, excited by the appearance of strangers in European dresses. A hundred questions were asked us at once, which we had neither time nor capacity to answer; but finding among the merchants there collected some who were more forward in the offer of their services than others, we delivered to them our small packages and arms, and followed them to a house in the centre of the town.

We were furnished with an excellent room and clean mats, but the repose we so much needed and desired we were not yet suffered to enjoy. The few soldiers who were here desired to know from whence we came, whither we were bound, and under whose firman* we travelled. The merchants followed, to enquire what articles we had brought for sale, and to obtain the latest prices of goods and rates of money in Egypt.

The Christian priests succeeded, to hail us as "Masafar-ela-Kods-el-Shereefe," or Pilgrims to the Holy and the Noble, meaning Jerusalem; and our appearance was sufficiently pilgrim-like to have deceived them, since no razor had been over our faces for fifteen days, nor any change of raiment afforded during the whole of our voyage. Next came such of the poor and diseased as could crawl to our habitation, to demand of us medicine and

* فرمان, a Persian word, signifying a mandate or order, and used as such for the passport of Turkish governors, to travel through their dominions.

relief, as it had already been noised abroad that we were neither merchants nor pilgrims; and it was therefore concluded that we must be hakeemi, or physicians. And, lastly, the servants of the house in which we were lodged completed the throng, by soliciting us to favor them with our commands.

My old servant, who, though a native of Tokat, was dressed in European garments, was not suffered to perform any of those offices appertaining to his duty: all were forward and ready to do us service; and nothing remained but to sit over our pipes and swallow rakee* and coffee until we were almost intoxicated with the combined effects of smoking, drinking, and talking, in a thronged assembly of enquirers.

At sunset, when both the idle and the curious began to be as weary as ourselves, a meal of rice and stewed meat was served to us, of which about half-a-dozen of our visitors remained to partake. Cups of strong drink again followed in rapid succession, and refusal was either considered as an insult, or thought to express a suspicion against the hand that offered it; so that at ten o'clock, when the party dispersed, we sunk upon the mat without undressing, as much oppressed by this excessive hospitality, as wearied by the fatigues that preceded it.

* A name applied throughout Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to a strong spirit distilled from dates; from the Arabic word عرق literally, sweat, juice; and metaphorically used of wine and spirituous liquors.



CHAPTER II.

STAY AT SOOR, THE ANCIENT TYRUS.

*J*ANUARY 7th, 1816. AFTER the sweetest sleep I had for a long time enjoyed, we arose at day-light, and being joined by a party who had undertaken to superintend the necessary arrangements for our accommodation, we repaired to the bath. Mean and ill provided as this was, its refreshing effects were sufficiently agree-

able to detain us there for several hours, when clean inner garments, and a temperate repast enjoyed in tranquillity, completed this powerful and welcome restorative.

On quitting the bath we mounted mules prepared for us, and rode through every part of the town, as well as to a sufficient distance without it, to obtain a commanding view of the whole. In this excursion we were assisted by the communications of several respectable inhabitants who accompanied us, and from whose confronted reports added to our own personal observation, the following particulars were collected.

The town of Soor is situated at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, extending out to the north-west for about a mile from the line of the main coast. The breadth of the isthmus is about one third of its length; and at its outer point, the land on which the town itself stands becomes wider, stretching itself nearly in right angles to the narrow neck which joins it to the main, and extending to the north-east and south-west for about a third of a mile in each direction. The whole space which the town occupies may be, therefore, about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, measuring from the sea to its inland gate.

It has all the appearance of having been once an island, and at some distant period was, perhaps, of greater extent in length than at present, as from its north-east end extends a range of fragments of former buildings, beaten down and now broken over by the waves of the sea. Its south-western extreme is of natural rock, as well as all its edge facing outward to the sea; and the soil of its central parts, where it is visible by being free of buildings, is of a sandy nature.

While this small island preserved its original character, in being detached from the continent by a strait of nearly half a mile in breadth, no situation could be more favourable for maritime consequence; and with so excellent a port as this strait must have afforded to the small trading vessels of ancient days, a city built on it might, in time, have attained the high degree of splendour

and opulence attributed to Tyrus, of which it is thought to be the site.

The question whether the Tyre of the oldest times stood on the continent or on the island, is involved in some obscurity by the ambiguous nature of testimonies drawn even from the same source.

The original city is considered as posterior to Sidon, of which it is sometimes called the daughter; but it is still of very high antiquity, as may be seen by the authorities which Cellarius has so industriously collected from the prophets, the historians, and the poets, by whom it is so often mentioned. *

In the sacred writings it is often spoken of as an island. The prophet Isaiah says in addressing Tyre, "Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon that pass over the sea have replenished. Pass over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle. Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?" † And in the exulting language attributed to it by Ezekiel, the expression is, "I sit in the *midst*," or as it is in the original, "in the heart of the seas." ‡

In the copy of Hiram's reply to Solomon, regarding the preparation of materials for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, as preserved by Josephus, the insular situation of Tyre is unequivocally expressed, when he says, "But do thou take care to procure us corn in return for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we live in an island." §

On the other hand, there are circumstantial details seemingly more applicable to a continental than to an insular situation. In the divisions of the conquered lands of Canaan among the vic-

* *Geographiæ Antiquæ*, lib. iii. c. 12. 4to. 1706. See also Reland, cap. 3. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 1046.; and Bochart, *Phaleg et Canaan*, Pars post. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 860.

† Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 2. 6, 7.

‡ Ezekiel, c. xxviii. v. 2.

§ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* l. 8. c. 2. 7. Mr. Volney accuses Josephus of being mistaken in this particular of its being an island in the time of Hiram, and accuses him of confounding its ancient with its modern state. Volney's *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 219.

torious tribes of Israël, the strong city of Tyre is made one of the boundaries of possession on the coast, in the fifth lot of the lands assigned to the tribe of Asher and their families; seeming thus to be enumerated among the places lying on the coast itself.* In the threatening message sent against the city by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, the details of the warfare proclaimed seem applicable only to a continental city.†

The commentators differ, however, in their application of these local features to Palætyrus and Tyrus, which succeeded each other; though it is evident that they could be intended by the writers of them to apply but to one place only.

The learned translator of Josephus hesitated in his decision, more particularly as he found that the accurate Reland, who had laboured with so much diligence towards illustrating the geography of Palestine and Phœnicia, was not able to clear up this difficulty. He inclines to think that Palætyrus, or Old Tyre, the city spoken of by Joshua, was seated on the continent, and that its inhabitants were driven from thence to the island opposite to them by the Israelites; that this island was then joined to the continent by an artificial isthmus, and watered by pipes from fountains on the main land. After a series of events, the same writer conceives it to have been utterly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, in conformity to the prophecy; but a smaller island near it being inhabited, in the days of Alexander, that conqueror connected this second insular city to the continent, by a new bank or causeway, as we now see it.‡

A desire to reconcile discordant passages seems to have suggested this accommodation, which is unsupported either by sacred or profane history, and still less so by the testimony of Maundrell, whose account of the modern Soor is cited by Whiston to support his theory of these manifold changes.

* Joshua, c. xix. v. 29.

† Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 7—10.

‡ Whiston's Josephus. Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 2. s. 8.

The army of Nebuchadnezzar lay before Tyre thirteen years, and it was not taken till the fifteenth year after the captivity, in the year 573 before Christ; and when taken, it was so exhausted by the siege, or so deserted by the inhabitants, that the conqueror found nothing to reward him for his labours. *

Dr. Prideaux supposes this city to have been the old Tyre on the continent, and that the inhabitants took refuge on the island, when the new Tyre flourished again with almost the same vigour as its parent, till it was destroyed by Alexander in the year 332 before Christ, and 241 years after the reduction of it by the Babylonians. †

Herodotus, who wrote about 400 years before the Christian era, or between the invasions of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, mentions his visit to Tyre; but instead of his calling it "an island," as one might suppose he would have done, it is rather to be inferred from his mention of the temple of Hercules as in the town, that it was then on the continent, where the temple of Hercules, in which Alexander sacrificed, is always placed. The Tyrians appear to have followed, at that period, the worship of the Egyptians, with which nation they were closely allied in commerce at a still earlier period. ‡ When speaking of Hercules, as one of the most ancient deities of Egypt, the Greek historian says, "From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules, held in great veneration. This temple, as the priests affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules." §

* Prideaux's *Connect. of the Old and New Test.* vol. i. p. 72.

† Vincent's *Periplus of the Eryth. Sea*, vol. ii. p. 525.

‡ Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee. Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 7.

§ Herodotus. *Euterpe* 44.

In the temple of Hercules at Tyre were two pillars, one dedicated to fire, and the

Diodorus Siculus distinguishes between the continental and the insular Tyre in the most explicit terms. The latter was the Tyre besieged by Alexander, "who," he observes, "finding some difficulty in attacking it on that account, as the Tyrians had a very powerful fleet, he demolished Old Tyre, as it was then called, and with the stones brought from thence built a mole or causeway of two hundred feet in breadth, extending all the way from the continent to the island. The difficulties which impeded this work, and the determined perseverance with which it was carried on amidst obstacles of so formidable a kind, are admirably described by the historian; and the description of the various operations of the siege leave one in doubt whether the fearless valour of the Macedonians or the obstinate bravery of the Tyrians deserved most to be admired. *

Strabo speaks most decidedly of Tyrus as an island, and enumerates the principal features of its local positions, and its great

other to the clouds and the winds. The statue of this god is said to have been always accompanied by these pillars, to which they sometimes gave the name of limits or boundaries. (Herodotus, lib. i.) M. Baer, *Essay upon the Atlantis*, p. 47. To name one of these pillars was to mark or indicate a temple of Hercules; these pillars signified then likewise limits; they were limits or points of repose in the progress of this illustrious traveller. The temples of Hercules serve to denote his different stations. (Vol. i. p. 80.) M. Baer, in his search after the Atlantis, conceives these pillars of Hercules at the temple in Tyre to be those of which Plato speaks, when he says that this celebrated island was seated opposite to them in the Atlantic Sea, and not to be meant of the Straits of Gibraltar, as commonly supposed. M. Baer is therefore of opinion that Phœnicia and Judea form the Atlantis of Plato. He discovers certain resemblances between the names of the twelve sons of Jacob and the brothers of Atlas. Were we to suppose these relations of resemblance real, says M. Bailly, it would not be extraordinary. The Bible contains the most consistent and most faithfully preserved series of traditions. It is by far the purest source of history. But in spite of these resemblances, ingeniously stated and explained by M. Baer, we must not spend our time in Palestine; it is by no means there that we look for the termination of our enquiries. We ask for the island Atlantis. The country that lies between the Euphrates and the sea is not an island, and the words of Plato are far from being ambiguous on that point. — *Ancient Hist. of Asia, and Remarks on the Atlantis of Plato* by M. Bailly. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1814. Vol. ii. p. 80—82.

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii. c. 4. A. C. 330.

celebrity at the period of his writing, which was full three centuries after its siege.*

Pliny seems to have thought that the oldest Tyre was on the continent, and the most celebrated Tyre on an island, as will appear by his description: "Beyond Eedippa, and the Cape Album†, follows the noble city Tyrus, in old time an island, lying about three quarters of a mile within the deep sea, but now, by the great travail and devices wrought by Alexander the Great, at the siege thereof, joined to the firm ground, renowned for that out of it have come three other cities of ancient name; to wit, Leptis, Utica, and that great Carthage, which so long strove with the empire of Rome for the monarchy and dominion of the whole world; yea, and Gades, divided as it were, from the rest of the earth, were peopled from hence†; but now, at this day, all the glory and reputation thereof standeth upon the dye of purple and crimson colours. § The compass of it is nineteen miles, so ye

* "Tyrus tota insula est, ac ferè eodem modo habitata, quo Aradus, ad continentem aggere eam adnectente, et cum Alexander eam obsideret. Portus duos habet, alterum clausum, alterum apertum, quem Egyptium vocant. Dicunt in ea domos altiores fieri, quàm Romæ, ideo etiam parum abfuit aliquando, quin tota urbs terræ motibus deleretur. Cladem accepit ab Alexandro expugnata. Has tamen calamitates omnes superavit, et se recollegit cum navigationibus, qua re Phœnices semper aliis præstiteret, tum purpuram captura Tyria enim purpura optima omnium perhibetur, ac piscatio ipsa proxima est; et cætera cuncta, quæ ad inficiendas vestes pertinent, in promptu sunt. At tametsi maxima hujus modi tinctorum multitudo civitatem reddit paulò dissolutioniorem, tamen ob hanc copiam collocupletatur. Non solùm à regibus, sed à Romanis etiam libertate donati sunt, cum quidem paulo sumtu impetrarent, ut eorum votum Romani ratum haberent atque confirmarent. Colitur apud eos Hercules majorem in modum. Quantum classe potuerint, argumento evidenti est multitudo et magnitudo coloniarum ab iis deductarum. Dictum est de Tyrus." — Strabo, the Latin version; Amsterdam, 1707. 2 vols. folio. B. 16. p. 757.

† This Cape Album is the one still called Ras-el-Abiad, or the White Cape, by the Arabs.

‡ M. Bailly, in his "Ancient History of Asia," says, "It appears from very probable computation, that we must refer the building of Tyre, as well as that of Thebes, in Egypt, to 2700 years before our era," (vol. ii. p. 83.) which agrees with Herodotus.

§ This purple was extracted from the vein of the purple fish, when they were taken of a large size and whole, and this was the best; but the smaller ones were taken out of the shells and ground in mills to obtain this dye; and though there were other

comprise Palætyrus within it. The very town itself taketh up twenty-two stadia. Near unto it are these towns, Luhdra, Sa-repta, and Ornithon; also Sidon, where the fair and clear glasses be made, and which is the mother of the great Thebes in Beotia.”*

Quintus Curtius, too, besides the assertion that he makes, which accords with Diodorus, of Alexander using the ruins of Palætyrus to construct the mole across the sea from the continent to the island of Tyre, mentions this older city in another place. He says, “When the ambassadors of Alexander signified to the Tyrians the desire of their monarch to sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, which they worshipped as the god from whom the Macedonian kings were descended, and in obedience of an oracle which had enjoined him to this act of devotion, they replied to him that there was a temple of Hercules without their city, in a place which they called the Old Tyre, and that he might make his sacrifice there.”†

Arrian, the most accurate among all the historians of Alexander, gives us even the depth of the sea in the strait which occasioned the insular situation of the city. He says, “The sea that separated the island of Tyre from the continent had a clayey bottom, and was shoal near the shore, but as it approached the city it was about three fathoms in depth.”‡ Quintus Curtius indeed calls this sea a very deep one, “præaltum mare.”§ It was the rubbish

places where this purple was collected, that of Tyrus was by far the best. — Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. ix. c. 36.

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 19.

† Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2.

After the visit which Alexander paid to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to consult the oracle there, his founding Alexandria, and settling the affairs of Egypt, he began his march of return to Phœnicia, in the beginning of the spring, having laid bridges over the Nile and all its canals near Memphis, (probably for the passage of horses, chariots, and all the pomp of his train,) and coming again to Tyre, where he met his fleet, he sacrificed a second time to the Tyrian Hercules, and exhibited the usual games in his honour. — Arrian, l. iii. c. 6.

‡ De Exped. Alex. l. ii. c. 18.

§ Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2.

of old Tyre (thirty furlongs off), upon the continent, which supplied materials for the building of the mole constructed by Alexander, according to Curtius.* And this agrees with Diodorus.†

In the contentions for empire which followed the death of Alexander, and not quite thirty years after this memorable siege, Tyre was again invested by the fleet of Antigonus, against whom Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, were all leagued in war. He at the first left before this city three thousand men, under the command of Andronicus, to besiege it, but when he had himself taken Joppa and Gaza, he returned to the camp, there to preside over the operations of it himself. It being determined at length to blockade the place by sea, this was done by his fleet for thirteen months, during which time the inhabitants were so reduced as to render up the city and receive a garrison of the troops of Antigonus into it for its defence.‡

About three years after this, and immediately following the battle fought at Gaza, between the combined armies of Ptolemy and Seleucus, against that of Demetrius, in which the latter was completely routed, Tyre was again invested by Ptolemy in person. Its garrison was then under the command of Andronicus, who rejected every offer made to him of wealth and power, and refused to betray the trust which Antigonus and Demetrius had reposed

* Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2.

† Yet the translator of Arrian himself evidently believed that the Tyre besieged by Nebuchadnezzar was the city on the island, and not that on the main land; for in animadverting on the hyperbolic style of Quintus Curtius, who says that the deep sea between it and the continent could not be filled up but by a miracle, and over which a whole province could scarcely find wood enough for a bridge, or stones enough to fill it up, he remarks, that it had been done before without a miracle, (Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.) and that the same trouble, admitting no greater opposition, would do it again. This same writer observes on the disproportionate loss of the Macedonians in the siege of this place. The statement, plainly shows to which party we owe the records or memoirs from whence all these histories were compiled. Justin, contrary to all other authorities, affirms that Tyre was taken by treachery. (L. xi. c. 10.) Elian reports that it was won by stratagem. Polynæus, that it was carried by storm. Rooke's Arrian, b. ii. c. 24. vol. i. p. 114. 8vo.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 4.

in him; but a mutiny arising among his own soldiers, the place soon fell into the hands of the enemy.*

It seems most probable, therefore, that the city which Nebuchadnezzar besieged was the Palætyrus situated on the continent, and the Tyrus which Alexander contended against, the city seated on the island.†

The resistance offered by Tyre to the haughty Macedonian, whose arms had already completed the conquest of Syria, or at least decided its fate at the celebrated battle of Issus‡, is a striking instance of what may be effected even by a commercial people whose military establishments were scarcely enumerated among the features of their high renown. "Let us contemplate these enterprizes," says a patriotic scholar of our own age, "as completed by the efforts of a single city, which, possibly, did not possess a territory of twenty miles in circumference, which sustained a siege of thirteen years against all the power of Babylon, and another of eight months against Alexander in the full career of his victories, and then judge whether a commercial spirit debases the nature of man, or whether any single city recorded in history is worthy to be compared with Tyre."§

"This proud mart of antiquity, whose resources of wealth and power are enumerated with so much eloquence by the prophet while proclaiming its destined fall, sent her fleets eastward to the

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 6.

† M. Volney wonders at the necessity of the aqueduct to supply the old Tyre with water, if it stood as is supposed on the continent. (Vol. ii. p. 219.) It is true that in the invasion of Syria by Shalmanezzer, at a much earlier period than the siege of Tyre by Alexander, guards are said to have been placed at the river and aqueducts of Tyre to hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 2.) But these were certainly other aqueducts than the splendid one existing now, which must be at least of a later date than the union of the island to the continent by Alexander, since a portion of it goes over the isthmus itself; and it is probable, too, of Roman work, as the arch, which is here the prominent feature of the masonry, is thought to have been unknown either to the Hebrews or to the early Greeks.

‡ This was fought in the month of Mamecterion, in the 4th year of the 111th Olympiad, when Nicocrates was archon, and 333 years before the Christian era.

§ Vincent's Periplus of the Eryth. Sea, vol. ii. p. 528.

gates of the Atlantic, which were the boundaries of all knowledge to every nation but their own ; while from this parent city, whose splendour and magnificence was unrivalled, and the wealth of whose merchants equalled that of the kings of other lands, colonies went forth to become themselves kingdoms from the same sources of power.” *

The people of this “crowning city,” as the prophet calls it, “whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth †,” were seemingly as alive to the love of liberty and independence as the possessors of the poorest rock in the ocean could have been ; for one can scarcely conceive any other feeling to have prompted so daring a resistance as that which they offered to the career of Alexander’s victories, when they closed the gates of their sea-girt fortress, and bade defiance to the conquering phalanxes which subsequently subdued the largest armies and over-ran the finest portions of the habitable globe. The love of liberty, it has been observed, will often animate the common bosom with superior energy ; and, in a frenzy for their freedom, men of ordinary capacities are frequently expanded into heroes. The numbers of the besieged who fell in the resistance offered to the Macedonian are estimated at six thousand by one writer ‡, at seven thousand by another §, and at eight thousand by a third ||, all sufficiently proving both the populousness of the city at that period, and the obstinacy of the resistance which it must have made against its assailants.

It was of the city thus conquered by Alexander, and consequently since its union to the main land, that the Greek and Roman geographers and historians record so much ¶ ; but it is of

* Vincent’s *Periplus of the Eryth. Sea*, vol. ii. p. 527.

† *Isaiah*, c. xxiii. v. 8.

‡ *Quintus Curtius*, l. iv. c. 4.

§ *Diodorus Siculus*, l. xvii.

|| *Arrian*, *Ex. Alex.* l. ii. c. 24.

¶ See *Strabo*, l. xvi., who says much of the loftiness and beauty of the buildings there. *Josephus*, in describing the city of Zebulon as of admirable beauty, says it

the older city, whether seated on the island or on the main, that the eloquent picture of the Hebrew prophets is drawn, and on which their terrible denunciations are thundered forth, when its annihilation is threatened for daring to exult at the overthrow of Jerusalem, and to exclaim "Aha!" over the fallen city of the living God.*

The port of Tyre is mentioned soon after the date of Strabo's description, in the history of St. Paul's voyages, as the harbour at which the ship he sailed in was to unlade her burden; and even at that early period of the faith, he found disciples there with whom he tarried seven days.† Its inhabitants soon after became zealous Christians, and it was made the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem.‡

Its conquest, by Salah-el-deen, in the year of the Hejira 583, or A.D. 1168, and its evacuation by the Count of Tyre, who fled to Tripoly and perished there, is to be found in the Arabian historians of these times.§

It was not long after visited by the Jewish Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who describes it as a large city, having an excellent port, which was guarded by a large chain going from one side of the entrance to another. This traveller, who had already seen some of the finest commercial cities of Europe, thought that Tyre was at that period without an equal in the world. It was then celebrated for a peculiar manufacture of fine glass, and for excellent

had its houses built like those of Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. De Bello Jud. l. ii. c.18. s. 9.

Bochart, from Pliny and Strabo, collects all the features of its magnificence, and enumerates them in his comparison by Tyre with the still more ancient city of Sidon. Phaleg et Canaan, pars prim. lib. iv. c. 35. p. 243.

* Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 2.

† Acts of the Apostles, c. xxi. v. 3.

‡ Pococke's Descr. of the East, v. ii. part 1. p. 85.

§ See "Extraits Historiques, relatifs au Temps de Croisades," in "Les Mines de l'Orient, tom. iii. p. 70.

sugar, as well as for being the greatest mart of commerce in these parts.*

It was, however, soon rescued from the hands of the infidels, under whom it had almost regained its pristine splendour, according to this Jewish traveller's report, and was fought for as a portion of that sacred soil which was first bestowed upon the chosen Israelites, the people of God's peculiar care, and next honoured by its proximity to the scene of the sufferings of that same Deity's only begotten Son; a soil which it was thought a holy task to moisten with the richest blood of our ancestors, when kings and khalifs warred in person for the triumph of the crescent or the cross.

The details of the expedition against Tyre under the royal zealots of Christendom are given by the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in his account of the crusades †; and its subsequent history is to be found in the pages of the same writer, collected from sources which few would have the industry or the patience to examine.

William of Tyre, whose name is well known as an historian of these times, was an Englishman, who, from being prior of the Canons Regular in the church of Jerusalem, called the Lord's Sepulchre, was made the first archbishop of Tyre in the year 1128, by Guimunde, the patriarch of Jerusalem. This city was even then called the metropolis of all Phœnicia, and accounted the chief province of Syria, both for its productions and the number of its inhabitants. This William, having in his lifetime written many books and epistles, died here in the year 1130, and was buried in the church of Tyre. Origen, one of the most learned fathers of the church, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of its most zealous defenders, were also buried in the

* Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, in Bergeron's Collection. Paris, 4to. The old Tyre was then thought to be buried in the sea, and its ruins to be seen below the water from boats.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. c. 59. p. 140. 8vo.

cathedral there * ; and Baldwine, who had been archbishop of Canterbury six years, dying here in the train of the English King Richard, in 1190, closed on this contested spot the perils of his holy voyage. †

Amid all its changes of fortune and religion, it seems to have retained its original name, with very trifling alterations, and has now recovered its oldest and purest form of Soor, which is said to signify a rock, and in that sense is highly characteristic of the island on which it was built. ‡

Maundrell's account of the place, about a century ago, is that of "a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as one entire house left §;" and Bruce, I think, in conformity to the prophecy, describes it as "a rock whereon fishers dry their nets ||;" since which time it has evidently arisen from its ruins.

The annexed plan of Tyre and its environs, constructed for the "Critical Enquiry into the Historians of Alexander, by M. de St. Croix," is generally accurate. The authorities for its construction are not given by M. Barbie du Bocage, in the work to which it is attached; but it is highly illustrative of the local features of this celebrated spot. ¶

The whole of the outer edge of the island is skirted by rocks; and the Egyptian port, being formed by moles, is not now apparent.

The long ledge of rocks to the northward, which guards the passage of entrance to the harbour there, has appearances of ruins precisely in the spot where the tomb of Rhodope is marked.

* Pococke, vol. ii. part 1. p. 82.

† Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 64. 4to.

‡ Tyrus, *Ἱερὺς*, *ῥύς*, Hebraicè dicitur Sor, et versitur tribulatio vel obsidio, sive angustia, aut vinculum, vel colligatio, seu plasmata, aut figuratio, vel fortitudo, aut petra. Metropolis Phœnices, &c. Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 317.

§ Maundrell's Journey, p. 64. 8vo.

|| Ezek. c. xxvi. v. 14.

¶ Plate IV.

The interior port is still to be traced, in a marked indentation in the north-east edge of the island, but is now only used as a shelter for the smallest boats.

In the angle on which was seated the royal palace, there are still to be seen a number of fallen granite pillars, and other vestiges of architectural grandeur; but of the temples of the Tyrian and the Thrasian Hercules, of Saturn, of Apollo, and of their other deities, I am not aware that sufficient remains can be traced to confirm the positions assumed for them.

The causeway of Alexander is still perfect, and is become like a natural isthmus by its being covered over with sand; but of the causeway of Nebuchadnezzar, which is said to have fragments remaining near the continent, I can say nothing.

The plan of Pala-Tyrus on the continent is made up from more slender materials than that of Tyre on the island. What is called the Road to the Temple is occupied by the aqueduct, which was no doubt carried all the way over the causeway to the island itself.

The hill, on which is placed the temple of the Astrochitonian Hercules, is now occupied by a Mohammedan Faqueer's tomb, around which are no ruins that indicate a work of grandeur destroyed. It forms the angle of the aqueduct as there delineated; but if it were within the walls of Palætyrus, it could not then have been the mount from which Nebuchadnezzar besieged the old city, as supposed by others.

The direction of the aqueduct from hence to the fountain of Callirhoe, or the springs at Ras-el-Ain, is accurately given; but here, as in the other case, no great road to the temple is apparent on either side of it, nor did I see any vestige of walls to the eastward of the aqueduct as there traced out.

The ruins of Palætyrus, near to Ras-el-Ain, were not observed by me, although we crossed the brook there; and the Tyrian sepulchres, which are placed to the northward of the town, I did not hear of, nor did our excursions extend that way.

On approaching the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, its appearance has nothing of magnificence. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it to the main land, and, like this, all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-roofed buildings is relieved only by the minareh of one mosque with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old Christian church, the square tower without, the town to the southward or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses. *

On entering the town, it is discovered to have been walled ; the portion toward the isthmus still remaining, and being entered by a humble gate, while that on the north side is broken down, showing only detached fragments of circular towers greatly dilapidated. These walls, both from their confined extent and style of building, would seem to be of less antiquity than those which encompassed Tyrus in the days of its highest splendour, as they do not enclose a space of more than two miles in extent, and are of ordinary workmanship. They do not reach beyond the precincts of the present town, thus shutting out all the range to the northward of the harbour, which appears to be composed of the ruins of former buildings. The tower to the south-east is not more than fifty feet square and about the same height. It is turretted on the top, and has small windows and loop-holes on each of its sides. A flight of steps leads up to it from without, and its whole appearance is much like that of the Saracenic buildings in the neighbourhood of Cairo.

At the present time the town of Soor contains about eight hundred substantial stone-built dwellings, mostly having courts, wells, and various conveniencies attached to them, besides other smaller habitations for the poor. There are within the walls one mosque, three Christian churches, a bath, and three bazars. The

* See the vignette at the head of this chapter.

inhabitants are at the lowest computation from five to eight thousand, three-fourths of which are Arab Catholics, and the remainder Arab Moslems and Turks.

In the fair season, that is from April to October, the port is frequented by vessels from the Greek islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Egypt; and the trade is considerable in all the productions of those parts, as Soor is considered one of the marts of supply from without for Damascus, for which its local situation is still, as formerly, extremely eligible.

The northern port, when entered, is sufficiently deep and capacious for the small trading vessels of those seas, and offers the most complete shelter from the winds of every quarter. Its chief disadvantage is the Boghaz or bar of entrance; but we were assured by those most conversant in such matters, that this is safe and easy of access, excepting only during the westerly gales of the winter, when the harbour is never resorted to but as a place of refuge in distress.

In the course of our ramble through the town, and our ride without its walls, the most striking features of the inhabitants whom we met in the way were an air of independence in some, of ferocity in others, and of cunning in all, compared with the servility, mildness, and simplicity of the Egyptians. The dress of the mercantile people, who are chiefly Christians, resembled that of the same class in Cairo; full drawers, caftans, benishes, and turbans. These last were invariably of blue muslin, sometimes fringed with silver, and having silver thread-worked knots at their ends: they were depressed behind, and thrown up in numerous folds in front, so as to give an air of boldness to the wearer.

The lower orders, both of Christians and Mohammedans, wore the large Mamlook trowsers, or sherwal, of blue cotton, or of cloth; and short benishes, or outer coats of woollen, striped in yellow, white, and red, with an inverted pyramid of coloured figures descending from the neck, between the shoulders, on the back. Their turbans were wound round the silken edge of a large red

tarboosh or cap, which was sufficiently ample to fall behind the head, and have its blue silk tassel touching the benish itself. Many wore also the bisht of the Bedouins; a large woollen cloak with broad alternate stripes of black or brown and white. All were armed, some with one pistol in the girdle, others with a pair, and others again with a dirk or a sword, but mostly with a long musket slung over the shoulders by a leathern strap.

The women were habited partly after the Egyptian and partly after the Turkish fashion; some wore black veils with openings for the eyes; others only covered the mouth and the lower part of the face, as in Smyrna; and others, again, wearing over their heads a square piece of white muslin which fell low down on the back, had their faces totally concealed by a veil of coloured but transparent muslin, like the women of Mokha and the southern parts of Arabia Felix.

In the court of the house where we lodged, I observed a female divested of these outer robes, and her garments then appeared to resemble those of the Jewish women in Turkey and Egypt: the face and bosom were exposed to view, and the waist was girt with a broad girdle fastened by massy silver clasps. This woman, who was a Christian, wore also on her head a hollow silver horn, rearing itself upwards obliquely from her forehead, being four or five inches in diameter at the root, and pointed at its extreme; and her ears, her neck, and her arms, were laden with rings, chains, and bracelets.

The first peculiarity reminded me very forcibly of the expression of the Psalmist; "Lift not up thine horn on high, speak not with a stiff neck." "All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted*;" similar illustrations of which, Bruce had also found in Abyssinia, in the silver horns of warriors and distinguished men.† The last recalled to my memory,

* Psalm lxxv. v. 5. 10.

† In the song of Hannah on the presentation of her first-born Samuel, at the temple of Jerusalem, she exclaims, "Mine horn is exalted in the Lord!" 1 Sam. c. ii. v. 1.

with equal readiness, the species of wealth which the chosen Israelites were commanded to borrow from the Egyptians, at the time of their departure from among them ; and of the spoils taken in their wars with the Canaanites whom they dispossessed, when it is stated that many shekels of silver and of gold were produced on melting down the bracelets, the ear-rings, and other ornaments of the women and children whom they had made captive. Most of the women that we saw wore also silver bells, or other appendages of precious metal, suspended by silken cords to the hair of the head, and large high wooden pattens, which gave them altogether a very singular appearance.

It was sunset when we returned to the house, after our long and wearisome excursion, and as supper was soon served up to us, the room was crowded by visitors ready to partake of it. Our Reis and the Tunisean passenger were among the number, as well as two of the Catholic Arab priests, so that the provision was but barely sufficient for the multitude. During the meal rakee was plentifully drunk by all except the Mohammedan, who could not be prevailed upon, by the united persuasions of those about him, to disregard for a moment the prohibitions of his prophet, not even in an assembly of those who were of a different faith.

After supper, wine was brought, and, at every ample cup that was swallowed, low bows, and reverential salutations, (in which the mouth, the head, and the heart, were appealed to as witnesses of their sincerity,) were made to me ; and both myself individually, and our nation generally, were exalted to the skies.

It was not difficult already to perceive that here, as well as in Egypt, one of the chief distinctions between the professors of Christianity and the followers of Mohammed was, that the one could get drunk with impunity, while the other was forbidden even to taste the intoxicating poison. Neither of these have sense enough to distinguish that it is excess alone which is reprehensible, though this not in an equal degree ; for while the extreme of temperance in the Turk is a privation affecting only his own comfort,

and rather beneficial than injurious to others, the inebriation of the Christian is as pernicious to society as it is disgraceful to his profession.

We continued obscured in an atmosphere of smoke, and stunned with the vociferations of twenty tongues in motion at once, until near midnight, and even then not more than half the party had dispersed. We had talked during the day, when we were all sober, on the best mode of proceeding in my intended journey from hence to Aleppo ; and now like the Scandinavians and our British progenitors, we entered on the second discussion of the subject in our cups.

My friend, Sheikh Ibrahim *, had recommended me, in his letter of instructions for the voyage, to procure the firman of the Pasha of Acre or Damascus, to secure my passage through their dominions ; and the propriety of this precaution had been confirmed to me here by the advice of all whom I had consulted on the subject. Even now, when every heart was stout and brave, it was the unanimous opinion that, in the present state of the country, it would be an imprudent risk to travel without such a document. The circumstance of the moment which rendered this the more necessary was, that the Pasha of Damascus having died within the last few days, Suliman, the present Pasha of Acre, had pretended to have received orders from the Sultan of Stamboul to succeed to the possession of the vacant pashalic, and had, accordingly, sent the whole of his moveable force there to execute the mandate.

In consequence of this general movement, and probable division of the soldiery into opposite parties, it was thought to be impossible to pass any where without strict examination ; besides being every hour liable to have our beasts pressed for the public service, if not protected by the Pasha's firman.

As this could not be obtained without my presenting myself to

* The late accomplished and enterprising traveller Mr. Buckhardt.

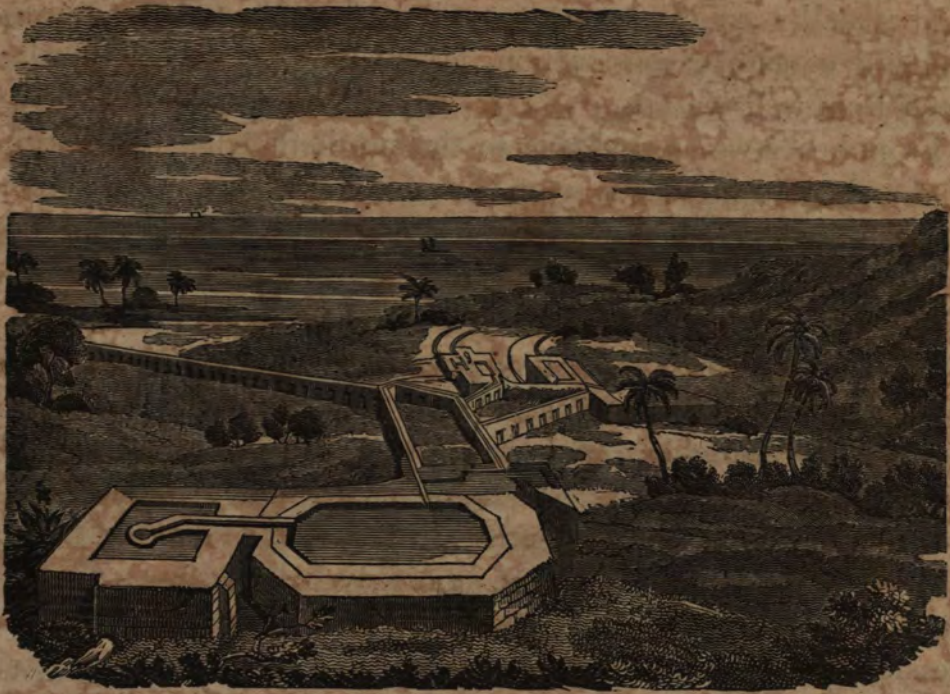
him in person, since there was no consul or other official character here to obtain it for me, it was necessary that I should go to Acre ; and for that journey preparations were accordingly made.

The hour of our dispersion approached ; and the next necessary step was to defray the expenses of our stay here. It was no sooner hinted than a long paper was produced, the contents of which sufficiently explained the motives of the supposed hospitality with which we were received, and the gathering together of the multitude to feast and make merry at our safe arrival.

A bill that would have disgraced a Portsmouth tavern, for the entertainment of midshipmen fresh from a long and successful cruize, was then read over to us, the gross amount of which, for the benefit of those who had fed at our expense, was seventy-four piastres for two days. I could scarcely hide my indignation at such a gross imposition, and hardly knew whether I felt most at the insult offered to my understanding, or at the hypocritical fawning of those who were vile enough to think it would succeed.

I did not fail, however, to give them an appropriate lecture on such a reception of a stranger, thrown by stress of weather on their coasts ; and to confirm to them my opinion of their meanness, I laid the half of the sum before them, telling them that, even for that, they would gladly see another Englishman among them ; but that no pains should be wanting, on my part, to warn all I might meet against the dear-bought hospitality of Soor. After this, they were base enough to kiss my hand, and beg a thousand pardons.





CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY FROM SOOR TO ACRE.

*J*ANUARY 8. 1816. We were stirring with the dawn ; and, as our two mules were already waiting for us below, we mounted them, each carrying his own small portion of baggage beneath him, in hair-bags slung across the cloth, for saddle or bridle there was none. We were accompanied by the muleteer, on a miserable

donkey ; and each of us being armed with musket, pistols, and sword, we quitted the gate of Soor as the sun rose.

Passing over some heaps of scattered rubbish, the wreck of former buildings, and leaving the isolated tower, before described, to the southward of us, we came in a few minutes to a square building of similar construction, at which women were drawing water from wells within.

From hence we crossed over to the northern edge of the isthmus, and, pursuing our way on that side in an easterly direction, we began soon to trace the remains of the ancient aqueduct by which Tyre was supplied with water from fountains to the south-east of it.

From the centre of the isthmus we commanded a view of the bay and harbour, on each side ; and it suggested itself to me, on the spot, as highly probable that while Tyre was yet an island, the entrance through its strait was made from the southward ; first, because the passage there is broader, deeper, and more clear of rocks ; and next, because the southerly and south-west winds, the most favourable for entrance, prevail so generally here as to occasion a reversion of the natural order of terms in speaking of places on the coast, both seamen and landmen calling the southward *up*, and the northward *down*, as in the islands of the West Indies, where these terms are regulated by the wind.

Since the formation of this isthmus, however, the southern port can have been but little frequented. It is now never visited ; because, from these same prevailing winds, it affords but a partial shelter, while all along its beach beats a continual surf, which has contributed, no doubt, to the present elevation of the isthmus itself, by the fine loose sand that it constantly throws up.

The northern port is, on the other hand, rendered still more secure than it could have been originally, by the intervention of this barrier to break off the force of the southern and south-west winds and seas ; and, indeed, when once entered here, vessels may ride secure from the gales of every quarter.

This alone would be an advantage of the highest kind, if the entrance to the port were less confined and dangerous than it now is; and as there can be no doubt that it has constantly grown worse in the hands of such improvident masters as its present ones, so it may be presumed that, at the period when the isthmus was constructed, the access to the port was sufficiently free to justify the shutting up of the southern passage into it by the neck of land which still remains.

Pursuing our way along the traces of the aqueduct spoken of, we passed, besides the visible foundation nearer the city, a large detached fragment of it, consisting of three perfect arches, still erect; and, soon afterwards, a second detached mass, under the brow of a small hill, on which were conspicuous the whitened domes of a mosque or a saint's tomb. This elevation is thought by some to be the rock on which Palætyrus was built, and by others the mount which Nebuchadnezzar, in conformity to the prophecies, threw up against it in the siege, though it is a small natural hill, and no vestiges of any old city are to be traced near it.

As far as this, the aqueduct led from the city in an easterly direction, for about half a mile, across the isthmus; when, being on the firm land of the continent, it turned off southerly in the direction of the coast.

We pursued its traces through a barren and stony ground, finding it in some places entirely dilapidated; in others, its foundations and supporters remaining; and, in others, its arches, mouldings, and channel for the water above, still perfect.

The workmanship throughout was uniform in its proportions, and well-finished in its details; and ruined as it now was, it presented a solidity of construction that evinced it to have been executed by very able hands. The materials were a calcareous stone, from the neighbouring hills, and a cement of admirable firmness, while the channel was lined throughout by a coating of plaster formed of lime and fine sand. Masses of stalactites, still preserving the tubular form in which the liquid element leaked

over the sides and down the arches of this aqueduct, were visible in many parts; and these, with the grey mossy patches scattered here and there upon its surface, gave to the whole a very picturesque appearance.

When beyond its centre we passed two ancient cisterns, now full of excellent water, nearer the sea; and continuing to follow the remains of this noble work, we arrived at its commencement at the fountains from which it led off, exactly at eight o'clock, or little more than an hour after leaving the gate of Soor.

We halted here at the small village of Ras-el-Ain, deriving its name from the fountains themselves*, and alighted to examine them. Going over every part of them with Maundrell's description in my hand, I was gratified at the confirmation which their perfect correspondence with his account of them gave me of his general accuracy, and felt a pleasure at having it thus in my power to do justice to the fidelity of his details, after the objections which I had felt toward his more hasty conclusions respecting the utter desolation of Tyre.

Nothing remains to be added to the description given of these fountains by the worthy divine, since it applies as accurately to their present state as to that of the day on which it was written; and his refutation of the tradition which assigns their construction to Solomon as a recompence to Hiram king of Tyre appears to me quite satisfactory.† If I were asked, therefore, for a description of these cisterns, I could not do better than transcribe that of this accurate traveller, adding merely a conjecture that both the fountain and the aqueduct were the work of the same lofty and magnificent genius who connected the island of Tyre, like that of Clazomenæ, in the gulf of Smyrna, to the continent, and whose works of grandeur, made subservient to public utility, soften in some degree the darker shades of his all-conquering character.‡

* رأس العين, literally, the head of the fountain. This place is mentioned under its present name by Reland, cap. 3., de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, l. iii. p. 1049.

† See Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, 8vo. 1810, p. 67.

‡ See the vignette at the head of this chapter.

We quitted the village of Ras-el-Ain at nine o'clock, and keeping close by the sea-side, came in half an hour to the bed of a river now dry, but over which had once been thrown a stone bridge, the broken fragments of which still remained.

At half past ten, we passed through a considerable space covered with the ruins of former buildings, whose foundations only were apparent. It was close to the sea, and seemed to mark the site of some ancient settlement, from the appearance of the materials there; but whether these were what had been thought by some to be the remains of the Palætyrus of the continent or not, we could not determine.

On the summit of the hill to the eastward of us was the small village of Shimmah, with a minaret rising from its centre. Though the hills themselves were in general steep and barren, the narrow plain between their base and the sea was, for the most part, cultivated.

At Ras-el-Ain, where water was always to be commanded in abundance, we had seen sugar-canes already from two to three feet above ground; but here, where they were solely dependant on rain, they were ploughing the ground for corn. • Oxen were yoked in pairs for this purpose, and the plough was small and of simple construction, so that it appeared necessary for two to follow each other in the same furrow, as they invariably did * so. The husbandman, holding the plough with one hand by a handle like that of a walking-crutch, bore in the other a goad of seven or eight feet in length, armed with a sharp point of iron at one end, and at the other with a plate of the same metal shaped like a calking-chisel. One attendant only was necessary for each plough, as he who guided it with one hand spurred the oxen with the point of the goad, and cleared the earth from the ploughshare by its spaded heel with the other. The ground was every where

* In Syria, they had anciently small ploughs for making shallow furrows and light work, which are contrasted by Pliny with the heavy ones of Italy. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 18.

extremely stony, and there were no inclosures or divisions to mark the boundaries of possessed or rented property.

The dress of the peasantry resembled that of Turkey more than of Egypt; as, instead of the long blue shirt of the fellahs on the Nile, the men here wore coarse cloth-jackets, ample cotton trowsers, and coloured and tasselled turbans. The women whom we met were generally carrying burdens on their heads, and were clad with long trowsers drawn in at the ankle and tied over the chemise at the waist, with an outer robe open before and tucked up behind for the convenience of walking. They had their faces but partially covered by a handkerchief over the chin, their bosoms generally exposed, and their complexions fairer than the southern Arabs; and though invariably bare-footed, they were never destitute of silver ornaments of some kind or other on their persons.

A scene entirely new to me was that of two of these female peasants, both well advanced in years, halting to perform their devotions on the public road, as I had never yet, either in Turkey, Egypt, or Arabia, once seen a woman thus employed.

At eleven o'clock, continuing still along by the sea-side, we came to the foot of Ras-el-Abiad*, a promontory which derives its name from its lofty white cliffs, visible at a considerable distance, and forming one of the prominent features of the coast, as we had observed on making the Syrian shore.

Here we ascended by an excellent road cut up on the north side of this cape through a white chalky soil, with flints imbedded in it, the ascent being in some places so steep as to render steps necessary. It then goes along the summit of the precipice, being in general from twelve to fifteen feet in breadth, and walled* in toward the sea, where necessary, so as to render it perfectly safe. †

* *راس الابيض* — literally, the White Cape, and the Cape Album of the ancients, on this coast.

† “Album Promontorium ubi inter prominentes ad æstuosum mare aretus et periculosus transitus est. Tyr. 7. Bel. Sac. 22. Bonavent. Mercat. Stell.” Adrichosnius. *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 2. folio.

The roar of the sea below, the whitened foam of which dashes against the base of the cliffs with a violence almost felt above, and the height from whence one looks down, have something of grandeur in them, though the labour and utility of the work itself strikes one still more forcibly. Near the point of this promontory is a small square building, looking like a watchtower from afar off, but probably once a house of toll.

Descending from hence to the southern foot of the hill, we entered on the remains of an ancient paved way, over which we continued to ride for half an hour, until it brought us about noon to a fountain called Ain-el-Scanderoni.*

This is a modern work, the charitable gift, perhaps, of some pious Mussulman; being well built with a cistern beneath an arch, whence issue two streams, and over which is an Arabic inscription of several lines. It has, besides, a square platform walled in for prayers, shelter, or refreshment, and a flight of steps ascending to it with a dome of a sepulchre now partly buried by the falling-in of adjacent ruins. This fountain derives its name from the remains of a square fort here, now a shapeless heap of rubbish, with only a few masses of masonry remaining to identify its site; and this fort, with the road over the brow of Ras-el-Abiad, and the paved way leading from thence, are all attributed to Alexander.

This place may, probably, be the Alexandroschæne of the Jerusalem Itinerary, which was situated twelve miles from Tyre, and to which this nearly agrees in distance; as well as the Scandalium of the writers on the holy wars, who admit of its being founded by Alexander, but afterwards repaired by Baldwin king of Jerusalem when he was about to undertake the siege of Tyre. I should think both of these likely to be the same place, as Pococke has supposed, but should fix them rather on the south than on the north side of the cape, and at this place of Ain-el-Scande-

* The fountain of Alexander.

roni, which would then reconcile the distance, otherwise too short, as he himself observes. *

After drinking at this fountain, and watering our mules, we quitted it at twelve, and continued still along the remains of the paved way by the sea-side, observing masses of cement and gravel scattered about, and upright stones of about two feet high, with arched heads placed at short and stated distances along the edge of the road.

At a quarter before one, we turned off to the left to scale a steep hill, on which stood erect a column that had attracted our attention. On reaching its summit we found a number of shafts and some Ionic capitals fallen to the ground, with vestiges of an extensive building once occupying this commanding position. From its ascending by stages of masonry, marking square enclosures, it seemed to have been a fortified station, but the pillars must have belonged to some interior buildings of convenience or elegance thus encompassed. On the sides of the hill, and behind it to the eastward, were also scattered vestiges of strong masonry, occupying altogether a considerable space of ground, sufficient to justify a presumption of its being the site of some early settlement or important military station.

The name of this place at present is Om-el-Hamid, as we learnt from the peasants and from our guide; and it is probably the same that Pococke describes, where he found the remains of an ancient temple of the Ionic order in a less ruined state than it now is, to judge by his description. †

We descended from hence to fall into the main road, which still continues along the fragments of the paved way, until we arrived, at half past one, at the coffee-house and farrier's shed of Nakhora. Close by this station, and still nearer the sea, is a high square tower, called Bourje-el-Nakhora, apparently an ancient structure,

* See Pococke's Description of the East, in folio, 1745, vol. ii. p. 80.

† Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. part 1. p. 80.

but now deserted; and on the brow of the eastern hill is a small village, called Gherbet-Hamoul.

We alighted here, to take a pipe and a cup of coffee on the clean straw-matted benches within; and after many complimentary salutations from the old master of the shed, we quitted it to pursue our way.

During the next hour we ascended the steep and rugged promontory which forms the cape of Nakhora, on the summit of which we observed a small square building used as a resting-place, and a coffee-house, like the one we had visited below. Upon the rocky brow of this lofty hill, we observed some Syrian shepherds feeding their flocks, and were struck with the extreme darkness of their complexions, which was even of a deeper shade than that of the Arabs of Aden and Macullah, on the southernmost coasts of Yemen. We learnt that these were Bedouins from the eastern deserts, who, when the severity of the winter deprives their flocks of pasture there, approach the frontiers of the cultivated land, and advance even to the sea-coast, in small parties, to let their goats browse on the wild heath and bushes of the uncultivated hills. The dresses of these men were similar to those worn by the Bedouins of Suez; and each of their flocks was attended by large shaggy dogs, who, though they gave the alarm at our approach, were silenced at the first call of their keepers.

The ascent of the road, winding over the rugged front of this promontory, reminded me very forcibly of similar scenes in Spanish mountains, as well as on the western shores of Portugal; and here and there were striking resemblances to the rocky and sea-beaten coasts of Cornwall and Devonshire.

On attaining the summit of the hill, an extensive and beautiful landscape opened on us across the whole of the plain of Acre, from the eminence on which we stood, to Mount Carmel, on which Elias sacrificed, and where stands the monastery giving name to an order of friars. This plain, from the boundaries thus given, is about fifteen miles in length from north to south, and

about five in general breadth from the sea-shore to the hills which border it on the east. We saw it now under every disadvantage of the season; but when clothed with the verdure of spring it must present an interesting picture, bordered as it is by the sea on one side, with the towns of Zib and Acre in sight near the shore, and on the other with a range of hills inland, on the western brow of which are also seen towns and villages, and ruined vestiges of former splendour, marking the sites of places consecrated by their celebrity or their high antiquity.*

We alighted to descend from the mountain by a steep and rugged road, and remounted, to enter on the plain, about three o'clock. We passed several springs and brooks, with a ruined fountain, in the way, all yielding an abundance of excellent water. The soil, which resembled the dark loam of Egypt, was now chiefly covered with thistles of a larger kind and in greater abundance than I had ever before seen. We met here a company of Tatars, wearing their peculiar dresses, and high black caps with yellow crowns. They were well mounted, and each carried behind his saddle a small black leather portmanteau, fastened with straps and buckles exactly in the English style. They were the handsomest men we had yet seen in Syria, and, being perhaps now on duty, passed us hastily, returning our salute, but asking no questions.

In about an hour after entering on the plain, we passed by the town of Zib, leaving it on the right at the distance of about half a mile. It is small, and situated on a hill near the sea, having a few palm-trees rearing themselves above its dwellings. It is

* This mountain of Nakhora is undoubtedly the Scala Tyriarum, or ladder of the Tyrians, mentioned by Josephus as being the northern mountain-boundary of Ptolemais or Acre, and distant from it a hundred furlongs, to which this nearly corresponds. See Josephus's Jewish War, b. ii. c. 10. s. 2. This range was erroneously taken, by the early writers, for the mountain of Saron, and as falsely, by Pococke, for the beginning of Lebanon or Anti-Lebanon. See Pococke, vol. ii. part 1. c. 20. p. 79. The ladder of the Tyrians is mentioned also in 1 Macc. c. xi. v. 59.

conjectured, with great probability, to have been the Achzib of the Scriptures, mentioned in the book of Joshua, where the borders of the inheritance of the tribe of Asher are described as reaching from Helkath to Mount Carmel westward, and commencing at the great Zidon on the north. "And then the coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre; and the coast turneth to Hosah; and the outgoings thereof are at the sea from the coast to Achzib."* It is afterwards again mentioned in the Book of Judges, as one of the places from which the invading Jews could not expel the original possessors. "Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob."†

Nearly opposite to the town we crossed the bed of a torrent now dry; and on the hills to the eastward of us, distant three or four miles, we saw an isolated column of considerable grandeur, still erect. A castle, said to be of great antiquity, was also pointed out to the south-east, upon the brow of the bordering hills, but both of these were too far from the road to be visited. In the plain, we saw scattered clusters of green trees, and the olive was every where visible. These, with some other local features, gave the whole a general resemblance to the plains of Sedikieuy, crossed on going to that village from Smyrna.

After having passed over a small eminence covered with rocks and briars, we came at length into fields and well-cultivated grounds, with stone causeways thrown over the brooks, good roads, and other symptoms of a greater attention to agricultural improvement than we had witnessed in the neglected waste which we had just quitted. Acre was now full in sight; but as the sun was nearly set, and there was no hope of gaining admittance through the gates after dark, it became necessary to think of some halting-place. We turned off, therefore, to the village of El Muf-

* Joshua, chap. xix. v. 29.

† Judges, chap. i. v. 31.

door, near a fine aqueduct on our left, and found a hospitable shelter there, among a peasant's family, with whom we took up our lodging for the night.

The village in which we were received consisted only of a few cottages, but these were in general large and well built of stone. The one beneath the roof of which we had taken shelter was at least forty feet square, and fifteen feet high. Besides its outer walls, there were two inner divisions of two arches each, uniformly and strongly constructed; and these, with the walls themselves, supported a flat roof of beams and brushwood laid over the whole, its upper part being terraced with lime or mortar. As these arcades went longitudinally through the building, there were formed three separate compartments in it, in the first of which, beginning from the left, where the door was, were stalled four oxen, some sheep, our two mules, and an ass; in the second, clean mats were spread among heaps of raw cotton for us; and into the third, or inner one, where were the hearth and fire, the family themselves retired, for our accommodation.

I had occasion to observe, throughout the whole of our way from Soor thus far, that the history of the struggle between the French and English at Acre was familiar to every one, and that the latter were always spoken of with great respect, even where we passed ourselves as belonging to the other nation. Here, also, when the enquiries of the family were answered, and a short conversation had taken place on our histories, our voyages, &c. the best mattrass and quilted coverlet were produced, with two cushions for my repose; a divan and bed were instantly made, and a supper of rice, eggs, olives, and salad, prepared for us all by the mother, while the children assisted to contribute to our comfort by every possible means.

The old man was nearly seventy years of age, and recapitulated all the circumstances of the siege of Acre with the minuteness of an eye-witness. His wife was about thirty, brown, but handsome, and laden with silver ornaments, particularly armlets, above the

elbow, of a massive size and curious workmanship, and a band or fillet round her head, formed of, perhaps, a hundred large silver coins, overlapping each other like the scales of ancient armour.

After supper, every one was occupied in breaking the shells of the cotton and extracting the wool ; while those of our own party, consisting of our muleteer, an Arab soldier whom we overtook on his way to Jaffa, my old Tocat servant, and myself, all joined in the occupation ; and while the family thus benefited by our labours, the whole company were amused by some droll tales of the muleteer. We continued thus to enjoy the cheerful happiness of a social and good humoured circle until ten o'clock, when we lay down with mutual blessings to repose.

9th. We were all stirring early, but the cold was so great, the thermometer in the air being at 45° , that we did not move from the hearth where we took our pipes and coffee until sunrise.

If my indignation had been excited at the price demanded for our entertainment at Soor, by men calling themselves respectable merchants, the behaviour of these poor cottagers was such as to draw forth very different feelings. The amount here demanded for all that we had taken from them, including provisions for our animals and four persons, was only three piastres and a half, or little more than half a dollar, nor would they name any compensation for the services they had otherwise rendered us ; and when a dollar was presented to them, to include both the charges of our consumption and their own reward, they were evidently as grateful to us as they were happy.

To warm ourselves by exercise, we set out from the village on foot, after halting a moment to observe the works in the neighbourhood. These consisted of a large fountain, which being walled round we could not enter. It is said to be supplied with water from the same springs in the mountains as those which fill the cisterns of Ras-el-Ain. Near it was an extensive and well cultivated garden of Suliman Pasha, the present governor of Acre, in which, among other shrubs, we noticed several clusters of young

waving cypress-trees. From this reservoir led off an aqueduct going all the way from hence to Acre, a distance of not less than three or four miles, and supplying that city with water. In the first portion of this work, which crossed a narrow valley, we counted nearly a hundred arches, each from twelve to fifteen feet in the span, and the central ones from twenty-five to thirty feet high. From hence it continued over the hill on which the village of Mufshoor is situated, again crossed a valley, descended underneath the summit of another hill to pass through it, and after exhibiting several noble portions of lofty arches in an excellent style of building, it discharged its waters without the walls of Acre, where, at the present moment, it was undergoing some repairs close to the city. The character of this work differed materially from that of the aqueduct near Tyre. But though inferior to it in execution, it was greater in extent, as there were here not less than five hundred arches, and the whole was carried over uneven ground. It resembled in its construction the aqueduct which supplies the citadel of Cairo with water from the Nile, at Masr-el-Atik, and, like it, I should conceive it to have been a Saracenic work of the age of the Khalifs. Maundrell's silence respecting it, when the minute fidelity of his topographical notices are considered, would almost have induced me to suppose that it did not exist in his time, were it not that there is a still greater difficulty in believing the Turks of the last century to have been the projectors and executors of such an undertaking. We could collect no positive information on the subject from any one of whom we enquired, but merely that it was old; and all that we ourselves could testify was, that by whomsoever it might have been built, it was a useful and a well finished work.

It was about nine o'clock when we crossed a stone bridge where we mounted to enter Acre. The approach to this city is rendered interesting by the appearance of gardens and cultivated land without, and by the full foliage of innumerable trees rearing their heads within the walls. The city itself stands at the extremity of a plain

on the sea-shore, insomuch that we were obliged to descend on approaching its south-eastern gate of entrance.

The view of the city from hence presents the appearance of large and substantial buildings, but has nothing of splendour: as, besides the flat-roofed houses, and the mere points of some low minarehs, there are only the spire and two domes of one mosque visible from any distance.

This tall and slender column has neither the lightness nor the gay ornament which characterize some of the minarehs of Egypt, and particularly those of Menzaleh on the eastern lakes, but resembles more the style of those used in Smyrna; namely, a plain tapered shaft, with a gallery scarcely distinguishable from the rest, crowned by a blue conical summit.

The walls of the city appear to be of considerable strength. Those of the northern angle are turretted round with pointed battlements like the sea-side walls of Mokha; and the south-eastern front presents a range of cannon pointed through large and regular embrasures; while a broad ditch below, and angles of different bearing for the guns above, give the whole a formidable aspect.

The entrance through the gate is also imposing, and promises, besides a well-fortified, a well-built and opulent town; as here is a wide-paved street, a range of work-shops and benches on the left, a land-custom-house and fountain on the right, and a troop of soldiers generally on guard on both sides.

We continued through paved streets, growing narrower and more dirty, till after many turnings we alighted at the okella, in which the English consul resided, and to him we addressed ourselves for protection.

We were received by him with great openness of manner, and soon furnished with an apartment for our accommodation. My first enquiry was directed to the sole object of our visit here, namely, the procuring a firman from Suliman Pasha, to protect us through his dominions. We had the mortification to learn, how-

ever, that he had departed on the morning of the preceding day, with a large body of troops, to secure the possession of the districts of Galilee, Samaria, and all Judea to the southward, while one of his confidential officers had previously marched with another body towards Damascus, to prepare the way for the entrance of his master there. At my request, Signor Malagamba, the consul, caused enquiries to be made of the officer left in charge as governor, whether he could not furnish us with the document which we required; and as an immediate answer could not be obtained, we passed the interval in a ramble through the interior of the town, ending by making a tour around its walls on the land side, and visiting the port and landing-place from the sea.

It was not until after the noon sleep and prayers of El-Assr *, that access could be had to the person of the governor, so that it was nearly sunset before the dragoman of the consul returned to us. He then informed us that the jurisdiction of this governor not extending beyond the walls of the city, he could afford us no document that should ensure us from molestation without them, as the governor of every village would exercise his own discretion therein, without regard to the orders of his superior, provided he was not immediately dependant on him. As long as we remained at Acre, therefore, he would hold himself responsible for our safety; but if we thought proper to depart, he could neither promise that we ourselves should be free from interruption, nor that our animals should not be pressed for the public service, since the death of the Pasha of Damascus and the designs of the Pasha of Acre had spread a general ferment among the soldiers; and at this moment every thing was in requisition by opposite and powerful parties.

As it was known that Suliman would make his first halt at Jerusalem, after securing the possession of its neighbourhood, by placing his troops in the different stations on the way, it was

* This is the Mohammedan prayer between noon and sunset, which generally falls between three and four o'clock.

recommended by the consul, and those whom we consulted, that we should set out for that place, where we might hope to meet him, and obtain from his hand the only protection under which it would now be safe to travel.

The French consul, with several other Europeans resident here, who came to pay us a visit on our arrival, insisted strenuously on the fact of its being impossible to pass through any part of Syria, without molestation at every step, if not provided with the firman of the pasha through whose dominions our road might lie, as the military stationed at the different towns would gladly avail themselves of so fair a pretext for ill treating and pillaging a stranger. Even thus protected, there were still many risks to encounter, from the robbers of the mountains, and peasants of the country; and the recent murder of Mr. Boutain, a French traveller whom I had known at Cairo, was cited in confirmation of this state of things.

A second request was therefore made to the governor, to furnish us with an official letter in Arabic, stating that we were on our way to meet with Suliman Pasha, with whom we had business, and begging all his officers through whose districts we might pass to suffer us to pursue our journey without interruption. It was late in the evening before the dragoman returned, but he brought with him the letter required, stating that the governor had granted it with great readiness, and wished us a voyage of peace.

Preparations for our departure were now necessary; and late as the hour was, and strongly as we were pressed on all sides to detain ourselves at least for a day, that arrangements might be made for our security, and a proper person chosen to accompany us, I persevered in my resolution to set out from hence with the dawn.

For this purpose we hired two fresh mules, their driver bringing with him his own ass, at the same rate as those we had ridden from Soor to this place, namely, sixty piastres for the whole

journey, or somewhat more than half a dollar per day each, including the days of return,

Our provisions made for the way were simply some small loaves of fresh bread, with some coffee and tobacco, water being frequent throughout the road; and having our fire-arms all charged and our bundles packed, we took leave of our European visitors, and retired early.

CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF ACRE.

JANUARY 10th. Anxiety, calculation, comparison of distances and routes, apprehension and impatience, all contributed to make the past a night of watching rather than of repose. I was out thrice before the day broke; and though the sky was dark and overcast, and the morning piercingly cold, I dressed and felt a pleasure in preparing to depart. With the first gleam of light, it began to pour down a torrent of rain; the hour of sunrise passed, and no mules came; ten o'clock arrived, without an abatement of the streams that deluged the streets; and even at noon the sun was still obscured, and a heavy south-western gale supplied fresh floods to the darkened atmosphere.

We had sent to the muleteer, who had refused to start on such a day, and those around us knew not how to interpret such a rashness of impatience as that which the very suggestion of moving displayed. We were therefore confined to the house the whole of the day; and, to render its detention less tedious, I passed the close of it in embodying such observations as I had myself made in my examination of the town, on the afternoon of the day before, with other notices that I had been able to collect regarding it in conversation with those long resident here.

The town of Acre is seated on the extremity of a plain on the edge of the sea-shore, and nearly at the bottom of a bay formed by the promontory of Mount Carmel on the south-west, and the skirts of the plain itself on the north-east. This bay, from the cape to the city, may be about ten miles across; from the extremity of the cape to the bottom of the bay, on the south-east,

more than half that distance ; but from the bottom of the bay to the town of Acre, on the north-west, scarcely more than two miles in length, which is widely different from the most modern maps, where the bay is made to extend at least ten miles inland to the south-east of the town.

In fair weather the bay itself might offer a roadstead for large ships, but it could not be safely frequented by them in winter ; and the port, which is a small shallow basin behind a ruined mole, is scarcely capable of affording shelter to a dozen boats moored head and stern in a tier. Vessels coming on the coast, therefore, either to load or discharge, generally visit the road of Caipha, a place of anchorage within the bay at the foot of Mount Carmel, near which the river Kishon discharges itself into the sea. A vessel from Trieste was loading a cargo of cotton there, shipped by the British consul, the captain of which ship was of our party on the preceding evening.

This city was the Accho of the Scriptures already mentioned with Achzib, as one of the strong-holds of which the tribe of Asher could not dispossess their Canaanitish enemies, but consented to dwell among them as inhabitants of the land.* It rose to higher consequence under the liberal auspices of the first Ptolemy, who, after enlarging and beautifying it, honoured it with his name.† In after ages, it became a warmly contested port between the crusaders and the Saracens ‡; was long possessed by the former, and adorned with cathedral churches and other public works ; and after passing from the Christians to the Mohammedans, and from the Mohammedans to the Christians again, it fell at length under the power of the Arabs, after a long and bloody siege. It is said to

* Judges, c. i. v. 31, 32.

† Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. l. iii. c. 13. p. 294. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 370. 4to. A. D. 1711. Reland, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. de urbibus, p. 534.

‡ Extraits Historiques, relatifs au Temps de Croisades, du livre Insol Djelil fet tarikhi Koceds vel Khalit. Par M. de Hammer, inséré dans les Mines de l'Orient, vol. iii. p. 80. Vienne, en folio.

have been then laid utterly waste, in revenge for the blood it had cost its besiegers; after which, in the emphatic language of one of the most eloquent of our historians, "a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate." *

Maundrell, even so late as the year 1696, after recapitulating the advantages of its situation both by sea and land, says, "Notwithstanding all these advantages, it has never been able to recover itself since its last fatal overthrow. For besides a large kane, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, and a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin." † It has risen again from its ashes since that period, as its present state will best testify; and even since the period of the celebrated struggle here between the English and French, the history of which is familiar to every one, it has been strengthened, beautified, and improved.

Of the Canaanitish Accho, it would be thought idle perhaps to seek for remains, yet some presented themselves to my observation so peculiar in form and materials, and of such high antiquity, as to leave no doubt in my own mind of their being the fragments of buildings constructed in the earliest ages. On the south-east front of the newly-erected outer walls of the city, in sinking the ditch before them to the depth of twenty feet below the level of the present soil, the foundations of buildings were exposed to view, apparently of private dwellings of the humblest order, as they were not more than from ten to twelve feet square, with small door-ways and passages leading from one to the other. As we obtained admittance into the ditch for the purpose of examining these remains more closely, we found the materials of which they were originally constructed to be a highly-burnt brick, with a mixture of cement and sand as well as small portions of stone

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ii. c. 59. p. 142. 168.

† Maundrell's Journey, p. 72. D'Anville's Compendium of Ancient Geography, vol. i. p. 412.

in some parts, the whole so firmly bound together by age and the strongly adhesive power of the cement used, as to form one solid mass. As the walls were of some thickness, though the apartments they enclosed were small, they offered an excellent material for building, and portions of it had been used in the foundations of the outer walls of the fort, in the same way as fragments of the old Greek city have been applied to the building of the fortifications before the modern Alexandria.

Of the splendour of Ptolemais, no perfect monument remains ; but throughout the town are seen shafts of red and grey granite and marble pillars, some used as thresholds to large door-ways, others lying neglected on the ground, and others again used as supporters of the interior galleries of *okellas* or public inns, forming piazzas around the central courts below. Of these, altogether, we counted nearly two hundred in different parts of the town ; and besides several slabs of fine marble, perhaps once used in the pavements of some hall or palace, now collected near a magazine at the north end of the town, we observed a fine Corinthian capital, in perfect preservation, lying at the door of a new mosque on the west, and the fragment of another of the composite order, the diameter of which was upwards of five feet.

The Saracenic remains are only to be partially traced in the inner walls of the town, which have themselves been so often broken down and repaired as to leave little visible of the original work ; and all the mosques, fountains, bazars, and other buildings, are in a style rather Turkish than Arabic, excepting only an old but regular and well-built khan or caravanserai, which might, perhaps, be attributed to the Saracen age.

The Christian ruins are altogether gone, scarcely leaving a trace of the spot on which they stood. The cathedral church of St. Andrew, the church of St. John the almsgiver, the tutelar saint of the order of Knights Hospitallers, with the convent of that order, and the magnificent palace of its grand master, as well as the church belonging to a nunnery distinguished by the chastity of its

abbess during the siege and storm of the city in 1291, and other churches, palacés, monasteries, forts, &c. all recapitulated by Maundrell * in his account of this place, are now no more to be seen. Even the three Gothic arches mentioned by Dr. Clarke †, and called by the English sailors "King Richard's palace," have been razed to the ground, so that the very sites of all these monuments of early days will soon become matter of uncertainty and dispute.

In the period between Maundrell's visit and that of Dr. Clarke, I know not what causes may have contributed to have swept away the traces of so many remains, or whether some still existed then besides the arcades which he noticed; but the subsequent destruction has been entirely caused by the late Djazzar Pasha, in improving the fortifications and constructing the outer walls of the present town.

The city of Accho, for so it is here called, having changed its Greek for its original Hebrew name ‡, is now a square of somewhat more than a mile in circumference. Its situation and boundaries cannot be better expressed than in the words of Josephus, who says, — "This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it an hundred and twenty furlongs; that on the north is the highest, and is called by the people of the country, 'The ladder of the Tyrians,' which is at the distance of an hundred furlongs." §

On the north-west and south-west sides, the town is enclosed by a single wall; which, on the north-west side, ranges along a sandy

* Maundrell's Journey, p. 73. 8vo.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 379.

‡ Ammianus Marcellinus observed, that, even in his time, the Greek and Roman names of cities in Syria, were not commonly used by the natives of the country; and this observation will apply still more generally in the present day.

§ Josephus' Wars of the Jews, book ii. c. 10. s. 2.

beach, and is unfortified ; and, on the south-west side, is built on rocks, having its base washed by the sea, and being mounted with about forty pieces of cannon, chiefly of brass. The north-east and south-east sides face towards the land, and are each secured by a double wall and ditch ; the inner ones being the old Saracenic works, with circular towers and battlements, often destroyed and repaired ; and the outer ones being the work of Djezzar Pasha, who, on the retirement of the French from Syria, applied all his efforts to improve the fortifications of the place. These outer walls are from thirty to forty feet in height, and are of ordinary workmanship, the masonry showing already opening chasms in many parts. They are strengthened also by semicircular bastions, at stated distances, and provided with embrasures for cannon ; and around them is a dry ditch of from fifteen to twenty feet in depth, and twenty to twenty-five in breadth.

In the ditch of the south-east front are the supposed Canaanitish remains of buildings already described, with several shafts of small and plain marble columns near them ; and in that on the north-east is a well, from which water is drawn by an ox and a wheel, as in the Delta of Egypt. Around all the outer fortifications we counted about eighty pieces of cannon mounted ; but as there are said to be some also on the inner walls, which were partly inaccessible to us, there may be, perhaps, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty pieces fit for service.

Opposite to the south-east front is a Turkish cemetery, and a small garden ; and, by the beach near the sea, where boats are laid up for repair, is the only gate of entrance to the city. The way is here paved with large white stones, and on passing within the gate the appearance of the whole is prepossessing.

The interior of the town presents a mixture of the gaudy and the miserable, the ill-contrived and the useful ; in which, however, the latter may be said to prevail. Among the chief buildings are, an extensive palace of Suliman Pasha, with spacious courts, fountains, &c ; opposite to this, a fine mosque, the dome and minareh

of which are seen conspicuously from without ; and another palace of Ali Pasha, son of Suliman's Khiayia, or deputy, lately deceased. These buildings, with a fountain near them in the public street, enclosed by a brass-work frame, and highly ornamented, are all executed in the style of Constantinople. There are also gardens near them filled with trees in fine foliage, among which the tall and dark-green cypress is distinguishable.

Of the bazars, besides several ordinary ones, there are two long ranges covered in by an arched roof, and lighted from above, as well as paved with flag-stones throughout, having benches on each side, and offering shelter both from the rain and the sun, and security to the property deposited there, being closed by large gates at each end.

The old khan, or caravansera, already spoken of, is one of the best that I remember to have seen. It consists, like those establishments in general, of a large square court, with a fine marble fountain in the centre, a piazza of arcades going round the whole, and the galleries above this containing rooms for the accommodation of strangers. These upper galleries, instead of being altogether open, as I have usually seen them, are furnished with lattice-work balconies, or projecting windows, quite in the Arabian style ; and the whole, from its apparent age, as well as finished ornaments and style of construction, may be considered as the most interesting and only perfect edifice of the Saracen days now remaining here.

Besides the okella appropriated to the Franks, in which we were lodged, there are several others throughout the town, occupied by Christians of different sects, and all resembling caravanseras in their arrangement, like those of Rosetta and Alexandria. There are also many spacious and well-built magazines, particularly one built by the Pasha, with a paved central court and a surrounding piazza of arcades, formed by about forty granite pillars from the ruins of the ancient city.

The private dwellings are all of stone, but differ in size and

plan ; the roofs are invariably flat, and provided with terraces for taking the air in the evenings of summer. Many of the streets are paved, and one or two are of tolerable width ; but in general they are narrow and dirty. Near the north-west extreme of the town, within the wall, is a large space, wherein are many ruined buildings, heaps of rubbish, and an accumulation of rain-water.

The religious edifices are, a Catholic convent, a Greek church, and a Maronite place of worship, with seven mosques. The Christian churches are all small, and hidden among private dwellings ; and of the mosques there are not more than four or five that are conspicuous. The lofty minareh and dome of that built by Suliman Pasha is seen from as great a distance as the city can be distinguished ; the others are built in a similar style, but of smaller size, and every one of them is surmounted by the crescent, an emblem more used by the Turks than the Arabs, and which I do not remember often to have seen in Egypt, except at the capital.

The stationary inhabitants of Accho are formed one-half of Mohammedans, in equal portions of Arabs and Turks ; one-fourth of Christians, including all their different persuasions ; and the remaining fourth of Jews, who have two synagogues here. The chief priest of these Israelites pretends to be a descendant in the right line from Aaron, and his family and his relations are highly respected. This man, who is called Mallim Haim, is the chief minister of Suliman Pasha, and the real fountain of all influence in Accha. He owes this privilege to his great wealth, as both the government and private individuals are largely indebted to him ; and without his knowledge and assistance no public measure, and little private commerce, is entered into. His immediate descendants are numerous, as he is advanced in age, and they all participate more or less in his respectability.

The military force of the Pasha is said to consist of about ten thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, not more than one-fourth of which are now here to garrison the town, the remainder being employed in the pending expedition to Damascus. *

The bazars are well supplied with the necessities of life at a moderate rate, the climate is healthy, and the government not thought oppressive ; so that the condition of the people is neither desperate nor miserable.

Of the Franks here, the chief are the consuls of England and France ; the first is an Italian, who receives no compensation from our government, but trades with certain privileges of office ; the latter is an old gentleman from Marseilles, who is confined by the very proper laws of his country, in this respect, to attend merely to the duties of his station. Besides these, there are two surgeons, and half a dozen merchants of different nations, all preserving their European dresses, but living with little union and apparently less happiness ; being in both these particulars certainly inferior both to the Turks and the Arabs, whom they constantly affect to despise.

The port is formed by the jutting out of a mole on the south-east angle of the town, to the distance of three or four hundred yards, where it is terminated by a tower, and either a lantern or the gallery of a mosque. The shelter afforded by it, when whole, must have been always imperfect ; but now that it is broken down in several parts by the sea, and going fast to ruin, vessels are almost as much exposed there as if they lay on the outside. This work is said to have been executed by Djezzar Pasha, before whose time the bay was only visited in summer ; and even now, ships of any burthen, since they can never anchor within the mole, ride without in the fair season, and in foul weather take shelter at Caipha on the other side of the bay. The trade consists chiefly in the export of cotton raised in the neighbourhood, and in the importation of common wares for the consumption of the country around.

Benjamin of Tudela speaks of Accho under the names of Akadi, or Ghaco, describing it as one day's journey from Tyre, forming the limit of the tribe of Asser, and the commencement of the land of Israel. It was then celebrated for its port, and had a river called

Cadumin, which traversed it. He adds, that it was bounded by Mount Carmel on the one side, and by the sea on the other; which description would best apply to some place near the river at Caipha, or, at least, along that part of the bay, where Carmel would be on the one side and the sea on the other; but which is not true of the present position of Accho.

The interest excited by the fame of the celebrated Jezzar Pasha, who acted so conspicuous a part on this theatre during his life, is sufficient, perhaps, to warrant a belief that an equal degree of interest would be felt about the manner of his death, and the events to which that catastrophe led.

Hadjee Ahmêt, Pasha of Acre, commonly called Jezzar, or the Butcher, was seized by a disease commencing in a tertian fever, which, after confining him nine months, put an end to his life on the 7th of May, 1804, in the 75th year of his age, and the 30th of his pashalic of Seida. He was a man famous for his personal strength, his ferocious courage, his cruelty, and his insatiable avarice, as well as for the great power which the active exertion of all these qualities together procured for him.

He had formed the design of engrossing the whole government of Syria and Egypt; and had succeeded, about a year and a half previously to his death, in uniting in his own person the pashalics of Seyda, Damascus, and Tripoli, besides the nominal viceroyship of Egypt; so that there remained only the pashalic of Aleppo for the completion of his desires; and this he probably would have attained, had he lived but a few years longer.

Some short time before his decease, he was conscious of the approach of death; but so far was he from showing any remorse for his past actions, or discovering any indications of a wish to make atonement for them, that the last moments of this tyrant were employed in contriving fresh murders, as if to close with new horrors the bloody tragedy of his reign. Calling to him his father-in-law, Sheikh Taha, as he himself lay on the bed of death, "I perceive," said he, "that I have but a short time to live.

What must I do with these rascals in my prisons? Since I have stripped them of every thing, what good will it do them to be let loose again naked into the world? The greatest part of them are governors, who, if they return to their posts, will be forced to ruin a great many poor people, in order to replace the wealth which I have taken from them; so that it is best both for their own sakes, and for that of others, that I should destroy them. They will be then soon in a place where proper care will be taken of them, a very good place, where they will neither be permitted to molest any one, nor be themselves exposed to molestation. Yes, yes! that's best! Despatch them!"

In obedience to the charitable conclusion of this pathetic apostrophe, twenty-three wretches were immediately added to the long list of the victims of Jezzar Pasha's cruelty; and it is said they were all of them thrown into the sea together, as the most expeditious mode of execution.

Jezzar had likewise in confinement at Caipha, Nassif Pasha, whom it is supposed he had no intention of leaving behind him; but being probably surprised by death before he had made up his mind on the precise time and manner of his execution, Nassif Pasha escaped and retired to Damascus. This is the Pasha who took possession of Cairo while the French army marched out of it to attack the grand vizier, and who so gallantly defended that city against the united force of the enemy under Kleber during thirty-four days, and at last made an honourable capitulation for his retreat.

The grand vizier thought it proper and prudent on that occasion to cashier him, and he was banished to Cyprus. Some time afterwards that punishment was mitigated to an exile at Aleppo, where he remained till the passage of the grand vizier through that city in the spring of 1802. He then received a promise that, on the vizier's return to Constantinople, he should be provided for; but soon after losing all hope of regaining the confidence and favour of the Porte, he threw himself into the arms of Jezzar, who had

on former reverses of fortune behaved towards him with extraordinary kindness and munificence. He was also at this time received with equal tokens of sympathy and regard, and treated with the most princely liberality.

Jezzar promised to procure for him the government of Damascus; and the Porte, at his solicitation, sent him a firman for the same, with a blank for the name of the governor, to be filled by Jezzar himself at his pleasure. Nassif Pasha now flattered himself that he was on the point of preferment. He was told to prepare for his journey, and to hold himself in readiness to repair to his post. The day appointed for his departure at length arrived, when he found that it was precisely that which Jezzar had chosen for his arrest. His confinement was in Caipha, where he languished for two years, and where his health was so much impaired by the constant dread of losing life, that at the death of Jezzar he was unable to make any effort at grasping the supreme authority in Acre, but withdrew to Damascus, and left his rival Ismael Pasha in quiet possession of the immense resources of the deceased tyrant.

Nassif Pasha was a descendant of the ancient family of Syrian Pashas called Azam, and a man of great weight, as well from the reputation of his abilities, courage, and liberality, as by his illustrious birth.

Ismael Pasha, like Nassif Pasha, was also in confinement until the death of Jezzar. His history is succinctly this.

In the year 1800, Ismael Pasha accompanied the grand army to Egypt, in the character of Kiahiya, to a Pasha who perished in an explosion of gunpowder at El-Arish. He was then patronised by Nassif Pasha, who obtained for him the dignity of the tails, and shortly after the government of Marash. He did not long exercise that authority before he fell into disgrace, by surpassing in his extortions the usual bounds of Turkish oppression.

The grand vizier formed a plan of making him suffer a capital punishment. He appointed him to the government of Sewas, and,

at the same time, concerted with one of the chiefs of the Turkomans, that they should, on his quitting Marash, way-lay him, seize him, and send him in chains to the imperial camp. The Turkomans fell upon him with a strong force; but so far from this treacherous stratagem procuring the ruin of Ismael, it was an indirect cause of his subsequent prosperity; for, in repelling the attack of the Turkomans, he displayed such gallantry and vigour, that it established his reputation for extraordinary courage and fortitude, and procured him the friendship of Jezzar Pasha, to whom he fled for protection, and by whom he was kindly received as a man suffering under the persecution of the vizier.

Jezzar was at that time engaged in besieging Abu-Marack Pasha, in Jaffa. This was a Pasha who, while in Egypt, had been named to the government of Damascus, but who, on reaching Jaffa on his way thither, found himself blockaded in that town by the troops of Jezzar, whose design was thereby to force the Porte to revoke that nomination, and appoint Abdallah Pasha in his stead. Jezzar immediately put Ismael Pasha at the head of the troops who had encamped before Jaffa, and after a siege of ten months, Abu-Marack was forced to abandon the place, and the Porte was compelled to appoint to the government of Damascus the Pasha of Jezzar's own choice.

In these transactions, however, Ismael Pasha lost the favour of Jezzar, and was in consequence committed to prison in Acre, where he remained until the day in which the latter expired. Jezzar having no children, looked upon Ismael Pasha it seems, as a man likely to inherit with his wealth his own rancorous hatred of the grand vizier, and his own spirit of independence of the Porte. He so well disguised those sentiments and views, that it is said that when Ismael Pasha was sent for from his confinement to come into the presence of Jezzar, he was so strongly convinced of the occasion of the message being his own execution, that he entreated to be allowed a few moments to prepare himself for death. His disappointment must have been a pleasing one, when,

instead of his condemnation, he heard Jezzar declare that he had chosen him to be his successor. "There," said he, "I leave you plenty of troops, plenty of money to pay them, and good fortifications to fight in ; if you are a man, you will keep them, and my enemies will then have no reason to exult in my death."

The body of Jezzar was not yet cold, when Ismael Pasha took the reins of government, and there immediately ensued the most perfect obedience to his authority. He declared, however, that he held his authority only until the will of the Porte should be made known ; and, in conformity to this declaration, he caused the public seals to be affixed in due form to the numerous magazines encumbered with the immense property accumulated by the rapine of the deceased.

The Porte had long looked with anxiety towards the death of Jezzar, as to an event that would probably put them in possession of a great booty ; and that no time might be lost in the execution of the measures necessary to that end, they had secretly conferred on Ibrahim Pasha, the pashalics of Damascus, Tripoli, and Seida, to be in force from the moment of the decease of Jezzar, with orders that Ibrahim Pasha should proceed immediately on receipt of such intelligence to Acre, to sequester the treasures there in the name of the Porte.

The tidings of this event reached Aleppo, where Ibrahim was, on the 12th instant. On the 14th, he appointed his eldest son Mehemed Beg Kaimacan, to the government of Aleppo in his absence, publishing the firmans by which he himself was named the successor of Jezzar ; and on the 21st he departed with about three thousand men for Damascus. He entered there, and took possession of that government without opposition ; but as Ismael Pasha would not tamely submit to the authority invested in Ibrahim, and throw himself without reserve on the moderation and liberality of the Porte, he rather chose to entrust his safety to the exercise of the extraordinary resources which fortune had put in his power.

He accordingly bade defiance to the Porte and all their orders, until he was bought over to their friendship by promises and presents. After a turbulent career of a few years only, he fell a victim at last to the treachery of his supposed friends, and was succeeded by Suliman, the present Pasha, whose reign has been as tranquil and favourable to his subjects as those which preceded it were stormy, destructive, and unhappy.

The very essence of the Turkish system of politics is calculated, however, to make rebels of men otherwise disposed to be faithful, especially in cases of inheritance. Let the case of Ismael Pasha be fairly stated, and it will be evident that he had no alternative between repelling by force the authority of the Porte, and laying his head passively on the block.

Treasures had fallen into his hands, which, however great, could never equal the exaggerated expectations that were formed of them ; so that though he might in reality give all, he would certainly be required still to give more, and in the end be put to torture to reveal hoards existing only in the ardent imagination of his rapacious masters.



CHAPTER V.

JOURNEY FROM ACRE TO NAZARETH.

JANUARY 11. 1816. The morning was still lowering, and detained our muleteer for some time beyond the appointed hour of departure. Having at length found him out, and brought his animals to the okella, we took leave of Signore Malagamba, our consul, with thanks for his civilities during our stay, and having the wishes of the European gentlemen for our safe journey, we mounted and left the gates of Accha about nine o'clock.

After riding for nearly an hour by the sea-side, passing in the

way the apparent outlet of a small stream, which may, perhaps, be the river Belus of Maundrell, Pococke, and Clarke, we struck off to the eastward. Here we crossed a space of at least a mile, formed of sand-hills, and long grass, like those which border the southern shore of the Delta, and like those, no doubt, thrown up by the constant action of the sea blown by a prevailing wind on the coast, and occasioning a continually agitated surf on the beach.

Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Josephus, and many other writers, mention the river Belus, as famous for producing the sand of which glass was first made. Fable has assumed that Hercules, being sent to seek for some herb whose virtues might heal his wounds, found on the banks of this river the colocasia, the juices of which effected it. Some ancient writers, indeed, derived the oldest names of *Accha* from this circumstance, related of its neighbouring river, as *Ἀχαι* in the Greek language, signifies cures.* Even more sober details of history, regarding this discovery upon its banks, have an air of fable in them, as the Roman naturalist ascribes it to the accidental combinations of the necessary materials for the fusion of the sand, while some mariners were preparing a meal on it, their cauldron being supported by blocks of nitre as it stood over the fire.† The Greek geographer remarks, however, that this property is not peculiar to the sands of Belus, but is found in those of the whole coast, from Ptolemais to Tyre, and that it was chiefly at Sidon that the art of making it into glass was known.‡

The Jewish historian, though he speaks of the river incidentally only, in describing the situation of Ptolemais, could not omit the stories which were current in his own times regarding it, though

* Pococke's Description of the East, vol. i. part i. c. 14. p. 55.

Bochart ridicules this fable, and objects to the derivation. — Phaleg et Canaan, pars prior, l. i. c. 5. p. 377. E.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26—65.

‡ Strabo, Geog. lib. xvi. p. 758. Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 295. 4to. Reland. l. i. c. 45. p. 289.

equally fabulous with that of Hercules curing his wounds. "The very small river Belus," says he, in speaking of Ptolemais, "runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs *; near which there is a Memnon's monument; and hath near it a place no longer than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded †, is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are now speaking of." ‡

We saw nothing that could even warrant a conjecture of its being the monument to Memnon spoken of by Josephus, nor could we learn any thing explanatory of the singular properties of the round and hollow pit which he describes as giving to the sand of the river all its virtues. Tradition does not even preserve a faint remembrance, either of the tale of Hercules wounded and wandering along its banks, or of the Phœnician mariners preparing their food by its stream.

It was eleven o'clock before we quitted the sand and came on a soil of earth, when we passed over a paved causeway raised above a low spot on the plain, and continued our course to the southward and eastward. This road led us, by a gentle ascent, into a beautifully fertile expanse of land, now lying waste, and covered

* This river is still very small, and, as may be seen from the time of our passing it, is little more than two furlongs from the present town of Accha, where Ptolemais stood.

† It was not only carried to Sidon on ship-board for the manufactories there, in the time of Strabo, but afterwards furnished those of Italy, as late as the 17th century, though there is now no demand for it.—Doubdan's Voyage.

‡ Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. ii. c. 10. s. 10. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. Note σ (g) p. 730. 4to.

with thistles, but having an abundance of olive-trees scattered over its surface.

Still gradually ascending, and passing, at intervals, round some stoney eminences that broke the general level of this plain, we arrived, at one o'clock, in sight of Shufammer, which opened itself suddenly upon us from behind a rocky hill. The approach to this village is interesting, from the woody clothing of the valley below, contrasted with the bare and rugged face of the elevated lands above.

Shufammer is a village, built on a hill, and is distinctly visible both from Accho and from the road to the northward of it. It is composed of sixty or eighty white stone dwellings, rising above each other in stages, like the houses in the steep streets of Malta, or those of Milo in the Grecian archipelago; and has, towering up from its centre, a large square enclosure, resembling a castle, giving to it the appearance of a fortified post.*

On ascending the road which led up by the side of the village, we noticed a well at the foot of it, which was ascended to by steps, and its square brink of masonry supported by four arches. It appeared of considerable depth from the length of the cord used for the bucket, and there was here a party of women drawing water. We met also females to the number of forty or fifty, laden with pitchers on their heads and shoulders, going down to the well, and learned from them that it was the only source of supply for the town, as there was no water to be found within it.

Above this, we saw a party of men and boys playing at cricket, using a round staff for a bat, and a ball neatly covered with goat's skin, and tolerably elastic. The dresses of both men and women were similar to those described at Soor; and the soldiers, of whom

* This place corresponds with the distance given by Benjamin of Tudela, to a place called Caphur Nahum, which he says was distant from Accho four leagues, retained its ancient name in his time, and was seated on a still higher aspect than Mount Carmel.

thirty or forty are stationed here within the central inclosure of the town, wore also the garments of Arabs rather than of Turks. The inhabitants are chiefly Christians and Mohammedans, but there are also some Druses, and a few Jews among them.

At the south-east end of the town, we noticed a modern cemetery, and a fragment of some ancient vaulted building of excellent masonry, part of the wall of which, and three arched windows, were all that now remained.

From hence the road was chiefly over rugged hills of lime-stone rock, with here and there only patches of soil, until at two o'clock we reached a place called Beer-el-Jahoush. On the brow of the hill, near the road by which we passed, were fragments of pillars and large hewn stones; and in the valley beneath were four wells giving name to the place, and probably of ancient structure.

From this eminence we saw the sea in the bay of Accho; and descending, passed in half an hour afterwards the bed of a torrent, now dry, although it had rained violently on the preceding day. It was merely called a Waadi* by our guide, and was therefore not likely to have marked the passage of any large river. Our road now began to be more barren and rocky throughout, until at four we reached a small cluster of cottages, scarcely distinguishable from the grey stones of the hill on which they stood; and there being here a brook, at which females were washing, both we and our animals drank of its waters.

From hence we continually ascended over lime-stone hills, until the prospect became one unbroken scene of sterility as far as the eye could reach, and presented not only uncultivated, but uncultivable lands all around us. We left the village of Sepphoury a little on our left, behind a rising ground; and learned, that, as all its inhabitants are Mohammedans, the very ruins which remained of the house of St. Anna had been entirely demolished,

* An Arabic word, applied equally to a narrow valley and to the bed of a stream.

and that the visits of the Christian priests to that village had long been discontinued.*

It was nearly six o'clock when we approached Nazareth, from the mountain above which we had again a prospect of Mount Carmel and the Bay of Accho; and reaching the summit of this lofty eminence, the valley and the town opened suddenly upon our view. The former was marked by enclosures of the soil, even upon rocky beds, for cultivation, and the latter presented the appearance of a respectable village, with about two hundred well-built dwellings, and a handsome little mosque, with minareh, dome, and arches rising from its centre.

The hill was so steep and rugged, that we were obliged to descend it on foot; and if it were the precipice from which the men of Nazareth threatened to cast down our Saviour headlong, as related by St. Luke †, it was a station well adapted for the execution of such a deed of death.

On entering the town, we were saluted by as many dogs as crowd the villages of Egypt, but of a black colour and larger size; and passing through several steep and narrow streets, we reached the monastery of the Franciscan friars, where we met with a welcome reception.

A room was instantly prepared for us, and soon after I enjoyed an excellent supper, washed down by the wine of Mount Libanus, in company with the superior, in the common hall. The rest of the evening was passed in the apartment of the Padre Guardiano,

* This was so large a city in the time of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, that the former lost a number of men in an unsuccessful attack on it. (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 12. 5.) It was the seat also of one of the five councils by which Judea was governed in the time of Gabinius. (l. xiv. c. 5. 4.) It is expressly called the capital of Galilee in several places, and enumerated amongst the greatest cities. (Life of Josephus, 9. 45. 65.) It was taken by Herod, who approached it through snow, (De Bello Jud. l. i. c. 16. 2.) and was abandoned by its inhabitants when they fled before their Saracen invaders. (Mines de l'Orient, tom. iii. p. 81.) Benjamin of Tudela says, "At Sipuria, anciently Tsiphori, were the sepulchres of Hhakados and Hhavah, who returned from Babylon; with that of Jonas, son of Amithai the Prophet, and others very ancient."

† Chap. iv. ver. 29.

and in a party of six friars, one of whom had recently arrived from Aleppo, and another from Damascus; and all of them being Spaniards, they were impatient to hear the news of Europe; so that we remained together until a late hour.

12th. Intending to pass through the mountains of Nablous, as the shortest way to Jerusalem, we had quitted Accho under the hope that we should find that way sufficiently safe; but on our arrival here at Nassara*, we learned that it was impossible to proceed by it without a caravan or a large military escort; and the recent robbery of nearly fifty mules, and the murder of four of their drivers, was adduced in proof thereof.

As we were now one day advanced on our way, it was recommended to us by the friars here, whose constant journies in the neighbourhood gave them great local knowledge, to attempt the road by Galilee and the Tiberiad, as either of the ways of Samaria would occupy a day longer than this. It was added, that the death of the pasha of Damascus, and the designs of Suliman, being now generally known among the peasantry, insubordination was beginning every where to show itself, under the idea that the soldiery were too much occupied to be sent in search of offenders, and that in the general ferment a few murders or robberies would be overlooked and go unpunished, if not undetected.

While the mules were taking their morning food, and some little preparations were making by the friars for our comfort on the journey, I profited by the moment of leisure which it offered, to visit the chief objects of curiosity in and about the town, and to observe some particulars regarding it in addition to those which I had gleaned from the residents here.

Nassara, the Nazareth of the Scriptures, is called by Maundrell, an inconsiderable village; by Brown, a pleasant one, with a respectable convent; and in Dr. Clarke's visit, was said to have so

* This is the pronunciation which the inhabitants themselves give the name of their town.

declined under the oppressive tyranny of Djezzar's government, as to seem destined to maintain its ancient reputation; since now, as of old, one might ask, with equal reason, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" *

The fact most probably is, that little alteration has taken place in its size or consequence from the time of the first, to the last of these travellers; but that the terms themselves, being vague, and accompanied by no specific definition, mean with these different writers nearly the same thing. That Maundrell, after speaking of Tyre as not having one habitable dwelling left entire, and of Accho as being but a vast and spacious ruin, should consider Nassara only as an "inconsiderable village," I can as easily conceive, as that Mr. Brown, coming from Darfour and the hutted camps of the Africans, should think it "a pleasant station;" while Dr. Clarke, misled by this, perhaps, to consider it as really a place of more importance at that time, might well have thought it "dwindled from its former consequence."

This town or village is situated in a deep valley, not on the top of a high hill, as has been erroneously stated †, but rather on the side of a hill, nearer its base than its summit, facing to the south-east, and having above it the rocky eminence which we had passed over in approaching it. The valley in which it stands is round and concave, as Maundrell has described it, and is itself the hollow of a high range of hills; but I could perceive no long and narrow valley opening to the east, as mentioned by Dr. Clarke; nor does it indeed exist: the whole valley being shut in by steep and rugged hills on all sides. The Quarterly Reviewers were led by this misrepresentation to accuse D'Anville of having erroneously given it a different termination, and placed the city to the south-west of the hills which separate Galilee from the plains of Esdraelon. The fact is, that no such long and narrow valley is apparent in

* St. John, c. i. v. 46.

† Nazareth in montes erat vertice. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

any direction, and that Nassara stands in the hollow of a cluster of hills, the north-western of which separate it from the plain of Zabulon, and the south-western, from the plain of Esdraelon; while on the north-east are the lands of Galilee, and on the south-west those of Samaria.

The fixed inhabitants are estimated at about two thousand; five hundred of whom are catholic Christians, about three hundred Maronites, and two hundred Mohaminedans; the rest being schismatic Greeks. These are all Arabs of the country, and, notwithstanding the small circle in which their opposing faiths meet, it is said, to their honour, that they live together in mutual forbearance and tranquillity.*

The private dwellings of the town, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, are built of stone, which is a material always at hand; they are flat-roofed, being in general only of one story, but are sufficiently spacious and commodious for the accommodation of a numerous poor family. The streets are steep, from the inclination of the hill on which they stand, narrow from custom, and dirty from the looseness of the soil.

Of the public buildings, the mosque is the most conspicuous from without, and it is indeed a neat edifice. It has five arches on one of its sides, for we could see no more of it, as it is enclosed within a wall of good masonry, and furnished with a plain whitened minareh, surrounded by a gallery, and surmounted by the crescent, the whole rising from the centre of the town, as if to announce the triumph of its dominion to those approaching it from afar.

The Greeks have their church on the south-east edge of the town, at the foot of the hill, and the Maronites theirs in front of the Franciscan convent. This last is one of the largest and most commodious that I remember to have seen in the Levant, being in

* In the time of Volney, the friars here were the farmers of the country. He observes, that under the government of Daher, they were obliged to make a present to every wife he married; and he took care to marry almost every week. Volney's Travels, vol. ii. p. 229.

every respect superior to those of Smyrna, of Alexandria, and of Cairo.

On entering its outer gate, we observed two antique shafts of red granite columns, now used as portals to the door-way. Within is a court, and, by the gate at its further end, the fragment of a shaft of another granite column lying on the ground. On each side, within the gate, is seen the basis of white pillars, which formed the portals of entrance to the original building destroyed by the Turks; and on the wall, both within and without, are worked into the masonry several pieces of the old ruins, containing delicate sculptures of friezes, cornices, capitals, &c.

This gate leads to a large-paved square, in which are two wells, surmounted by the cross. On the right hand, is the hall for the reception of strangers and visitors, with a range of buildings continued on the same side; on the left, there are apartments for servants and porters, and the passage leading up to the convent itself; and opposite to the outer-entrance, on the other side of the square-court, is the wall of the church attached to it. The interior of the building is furnished with every convenience in stair-cases, galleries, and apartments.

Over the door of each small chamber I observed painted a number, and "*Ave Maria*," while over that of the Padre Guardiano's was written his title in addition. On the door of the chamber in which I slept was written "*Ave Maria purissima*," and immediately opposite to it, "*Hæc sunt necessaria*," in large Roman capitals.

The hall in which we supped was below. It was of a considerable size, furnished all round with benches and tables, each apparently for two persons. In the centre of one of the longest sides was an altar in a recess, with crosses, candles, &c.; and immediately opposite to it, on the other side, was a small folding-door, through which the dishes were received, warm as they were prepared, from the adjoining kitchen. The table-service was altogether of pewter; but every thing was extremely clean, and the provisions excellent, particularly, fine white bread, equal to any

in Europe, and a wine of Mount Libanus, not inferior to the best wines of France. *

The six friars stationary here were all Spaniards, and chiefly from Majorca, Minorca, and Valencia. They did not appear to me to be either learned or well informed; but they were, which is of more worth, frank, amiable, and obliging. Our reception among them was unaffectedly kind; and our stay was rendered agreeable by their bounty.

The church is built over a grotto, held sacred from a belief of its being the scene of the angel's announcing to Mary her favour with God, and her conception and bearing of the Saviour. On entering it, we passed over a white marble pavement, ornamented in the centre with a device in Mosaic; and descended by a flight of marble steps into a grotto beneath the body of the church. In the first compartment of this subterraneous sanctuary, we were told, had stood the mass which constitutes the famous chapel of Loretto, in Italy; and the friars assured us, with all possible solemnity, that the angels appointed to the task took out this mass from the rock, and flew with it first to Dalmatia, and afterwards to Loretto, where it now stands; and that, on measuring the mass itself, and the place from which it had been taken, they had been found to correspond in every respect; neither the one by the voyage, nor the other by age, having lost or altered any part of its size or shape!

Proceeding farther in, we were shown a second grotto, or a continuation of the first, with two red granite pillars, of about two feet in diameter, at its entrance; and were told, that one marked the spot where the Virgin rested, the other where the angel stood when he appeared to Mary, exclaiming, — "Hail! thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among

* It seems to have been peculiar to the Nazarites to suffer their hair to grow long, and to abstain from the use of wine, on making a sacred vow. (Josephus, Ant. Jud. b. iv. c. 4. s. 4.) And the story of Dalilah and Samson, who was a Nazárite, is familiar to all.

women.”* The pillar on the right is still perfect, but that on the left has a piece of its shaft broken out, leaving a space of about a foot and a half between the upper and under fragment. The latter of these continuing still to be supported by being firmly imbedded in the rock above, offers to the eyes of believing visitors, according to the expression of the friars, “A standing miracle of the care which Christ takes of his church;” as they insist upon its being supported by the hand of God alone.†

The grotto here, though small and about eight feet in height, remains still in its original roughness, the roof being slightly arched. In the outer compartment, from whence the chapel of Loretto is said to have been taken; the roof as well as the sides have been reshaped, and plastered, and ornamented; so that the original dimensions no longer remain. Within, however, all is left in its first rude state, to perpetuate to future ages the interesting fact which it is thought to record.

Passing onward from hence, and ascending through narrow passages, over steps cut out of the rock, and turning a little to the right, we came to a chamber which the friars called, “*La Cucina*

* St. Luke, i. 28.

† The “Orthodox Traveller,” as he is called, who has most recently furnished us with the details of his journey in the Holy Land, is almost angry with the poor friars of Nazareth for endeavouring to make others believe what they are themselves firmly persuaded of. He says, — “Pococke has proved that the tradition concerning the dwelling-place of the parents of Jesus Christ existed at a very early period, because the church built over it is mentioned by writers of the seventh century; and in being conducted to a cave rudely fashioned in the natural rock, there is nothing repugnant to the notions one is induced to entertain concerning the ancient customs of the country, and the history of the persons to whom allusion is made. But when the surreptitious aid of architectural pillars, with all the garniture of a Roman Catholic church, above, below, and on every side of it, have disguised its original simplicity, and we finally call to mind the insane reverie concerning the transmigration of the said habitation, in a less substantial form of brick and mortar, across the Mediterranean to Loretto in Italy, maintained upon authority very similar to that which identifies the authenticity of this relique, a disbelief of the whole mummery seems best suited to the feelings of Protestants.” — Dr. Clarke’s Travels, vol. ii. p. 434. In our strictures on the religion of others, the advice of our Saviour himself is worth consulting, (St. Matt. c. vii. v. 5.) if we would wish to avoid the imputation thrown on those whom he so deservedly reproves.

della Santa Madona." They here showed us the chimney of the hearth on which Mary warmed the food for Jesus, while yet an helpless infant, and where she baked the cakes for her husband's supper, when he returned from the labours of the day. This was an apartment of the house, as they observed, in which the Son of God lived so many years in subjection to man; as it is believed by all that he was brought up from childhood to manhood in Nazareth.

The fact of Joseph and Mary having resided in this house, and used the very room in which we stood as their kitchen, has nothing at all of improbability in it; and as excavated dwellings, in the side of a steep hill like this, would be more secure, and even more comfortable than fabricated ones, it is quite as probable that this might have really been the residence of the holy family as of any other; since it is here, in the midst of the Nazareth of Galilee, where Joseph and Mary are admitted to have dwelt, and the child Jesus to have been brought up.

The church erected over this sacred spot is large, and well furnished, with some few tolerable paintings, but, still more gaudy ones. It has also a double flight of marble steps, and a gilt-iron rail-way leading up on each side of the grotto, which is left open and faces the entrance to the church, producing an impressive effect. Below, in the grotto itself, is an altar of white marble, very finely executed; and a painting of the Annunciation, of great merit, as far as could be judged in this obscure depth, except that its effect is lessened by a diadem of gold and precious stones on the head of the Virgin.

Among all the pictures, I observed a departure from costume and propriety, which could only be accounted for by religious zeal. Joseph the carpenter was arrayed in purple and scarlet; Mary, beautiful, and dressed in the richest robes. If the painters could have taken their models from among the same class of people at Nazareth now, they would perhaps have approached nearer to truth: as these are probably still very similar in person, com-

plexion, and apparel, to those described in the history of those times. In Europe, remote from the scenes themselves, scriptural subjects may be treated in any way that best displays the talent of the painter, but it is impossible to witness certain delineations of country and costume upon the spot where the scene itself is laid, without being forcibly impressed with their want of even general resemblance.

There is an organ which is played by one of the friars ; an abundance of fonts, and altars, and candlesticks ; a fine sacristy or dressing-room for the priests ; and store-rooms for the moveables of the church, consisting of flags, tapers, silken curtains, silver crosses, incense pots, &c. exhibited only on festival days.

The synagogue in which Jesus read and expounded the prophet *Esais* on the sabbath, is shown here within the town ; while the precipice from which the exasperated people would have hurled him, is pointed out at a place more than a mile distant to the southward, and on the other side of the vale. It is more probable, however, that the precipice which overlooks the town was really the scene of this outrage, as the evangelist says : “ And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong.” *

* St. Luke, iv. 28, 29. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

This Nazareth was once taken by an English prince during the Holy Wars, as we learn from the “ Voyage of Prince Edward, the sonne of King Henry the Third, into Asia, in the yeere 1270,” as preserved by Hakluyt. After describing a tempest and shipwreck on the coast of Sicilia, he says : “ Then Prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene days after Easter, arrived he at Acra; and went a-land, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he took with him sixe or seven thousand souldiers, and marched forwards twenty miles from Acra and took Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterwards returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some

street, or other advantage, were espied by the prince, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight." Hakluyt's Coll. vol. ii. p. 73. 4to. 1810.

Hugh, of Tabaria, one of the Christian heroes of the Crusades, and Gerrard his brother, the former of whom died of his wounds received in battle, and the latter from sickness and grief, were both honourably interred with great mourning and lamentation, in the city of Nazareth, as described in the account of "A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, who arrived at Joppa, in the Holy Land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the Second, King of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the eighth yeere of Henry the First, of England." Hakl. Coll. vol. ii. p. 49.



CHAPTER VI.

ASCENT OF MOUNT TABOR.

BEING furnished with an armed guide by the friars of Nazareth to conduct us by the way proposed for our journey toward Jerusalem, we mounted, and took leave of them with a warm sense of their hospitality, their meekness, and the affability of their manners.

It was nine o'clock when we left the foot of the hill to cross the valley, passing by some wells there; and in less than half an hour we ascended the hills on the south-east, again observing that there was no outlet of a long valley in that direction, nor at all near it.

Having reached the summit of these rocky and barren eminences, we began at ten to descend on the other side of them, leaving on the left a small village called Shaayn. Arriving at their feet, we passed through a narrow defile; leading easterly between two steep hills; and again going up a rocky ascent, we reached its summit at eleven, having the high round eminence of Mount Tabor before us, rearing itself abruptly from the plain of Es-draelon.

In our approach to the foot of this mountain, while passing through a rocky bed covered with thickets, a large black wild boar rushed from them across our path, and so alarmed our mules, that one of the riders was thrown. Our guide discharged his musket, and a shout of pursuit was instantly set up; when presently some dogs sprung barking from the bushes, and a cry of voices was heard, which grew louder and louder, until we saw before us about a dozen Arabs, each with his gun prepared to fire.

We mutually halted to regard each other, and not knowing whether this was an ambush lying in wait for us, or for the boar, we unslung our muskets for defence. We remained for some minutes in this hostile attitude, until one of our party accosted the band which had so suddenly appeared, and received such insolent answers as to induce us to look upon them rather as enemies than friends. As we kept together, however, and preserved a tone of firmness, this, added to the sight of our arms, induced them to retire murmuring; and as we ascended on higher ground, we saw three or four low brown flat-roofed tents, in which they were apparently encamped; but for what purpose we knew not, as there were no flocks in the neighbourhood, and they were accompanied only by the dogs which we had seen.

It was about noon when we reached the small village of Deborah, where we alighted to refresh, not suspecting that the treachery for which it is traditionally infamous both in holy*

* Judges, iv.

and profane* records, was still to be found here at so distant a period.

This village is said to retain the name of the famous prophetess and judge of Israel, who dwelt under the palm-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim, where the children of Israel came up to her for judgment; and is thought to be the same with Daberath, on the borders of the tribes of Issachar and Zabulon.†

After the celebrated destruction of the hosts of Sisera, on the plains of Esdraelon, at the foot of Mount Tabor, where this village now stands, it was on this spot, as tradition relates, that the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite stood, when the defeated fugitive sought a refuge there.

We entered into this village, and, like the unfortunate Sisera, demanded only a little water to drink, for with every thing else our scrip was well provided. It was furnished to us, as we desired, with provender for our beasts, and the offer of all that the village possessed.

While the animals were feeding, I was desirous of ascending to the summit of Mount Tabor, for the enjoyment of the extensive view which it commands. Our guide from the convent offering to accompany me, we took with us a man from the village, who promised to facilitate our ascent by directing us to the easiest paths; and taking our arms with us, while my servant and the muleteer remained below to take care of the beasts, we all three set out together.

By forced exertions we reached the summit in about half an

* There was a village called Dabaritta near to Esdraelon, and probably the present Daberah. Some young men of this place who kept guard in the Great Plain, laid wait for one Ptolemy, who was the steward of Agrippa and Bernice, and plundered him of all that he had with him, namely many costly garments, a number of silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold. Josephus, de Bello, l. ii. c. 21. s. 3.

† Joshua, xix. 12.

hour, having ascended on the north-west side, directly upward from the village, and through paths well worn by being frequently trodden, though here and there obstructed by the numerous trees and thickets which clothe its brow.

Arriving at the top, we found ourselves on an oval plain, of about a quarter of a mile in its greatest length, covered with a bed of fertile soil on the west, and having at its eastern end a mass of ruins, seemingly the vestiges of churches, grottoes, strong walls, and fortifications, all decidedly of some antiquity, and a few appearing to be the works of a very remote age.

First were pointed out to us three grottoes, two beside each other, and not far from two cisterns of excellent water; which grottoes are said to be remains of the three tabernacles proposed to be erected by St. Peter, at the moment of the transfiguration, when Jesus, Elias, and Moses, were seen talking together.*

In one of these grottoes, which they call more particularly "the Sanctuary," there is a square stone used as an altar; and on the 6th of August, in every year, the friars of the convent come from Nazareth with their banners and the host to say mass here, at which period they are accompanied by all the Catholics of the neighbourhood, who pass the night in festivity, and light large bonfires, by a succession of which they have nearly bared the southern side of the mountain of all the wood that once clothed it.

Besides these grottoes, no particular history is assigned to any other of the remains, though among them there seem to have been many large religious buildings.

The whole of these appear to have been once enclosed with a strong wall, a large portion of which still remains entire on the south side, having its firm foundations on the solid rocks; and this appeared to me the most ancient part. In the book of Judges, where the story of Deborah is related †, Barak is commanded to

* St. Luke, ix. 30. 33. See the vignette at the head of this chapter.

† Judges, iv.

draw toward Mount Tabor; and afterwards it is said that he went *up* there with ten thousand men, accompanied by the prophetess.* Again, it is repeated that they who were encamped with Heber the Kenite in the plain of Zaanaim, showed Sisera that Barak, the son of Abinoam, was gone *up* to Mount Tabor.† And, lastly, it is said, that when Sisera gathered all his hosts together, with his nine hundred chariots of iron, to the river Kishon, Barak went *down* from Mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him.‡ From this one might infer that the summit was even then used as a military post: for there is no other part of the mountain on which half the number could stand.§ It was even then, perhaps, walled and fortified as belonging to Barak; and as its natural position would always preserve its consequence, so these walls and fortifications would be strengthened by each new possessor.

The Scriptural references to Tabor or Itabyrius, may be found at length in Cellarius||; and it is mentioned in all the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, as containing one of the sanctuaries usually visited in these pious journies. But Josephus furnishes us, in his details of the Jewish wars, with a remarkable instance of its having been resorted to as a place of security, and encompassed with a wall by himself in a short space of time, to resist the Roman army. "But now," says this historian, after describing the siege and capture of Gamala, "Vespasian went about another work independent on the former, during this siege; and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor; a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated to the height of thirty furlongs¶, and is hardly to be

* Judges, c. iv. ver. 10.

† ver. 12.

‡ ver. 14.

§ The top of Mount Tabor was described to Dr. Clarke, "as a plain of great extent, finely cultivated, and inhabited by numerous Arab tribes." Vol. ii. p. 484. This traveller must have had very inaccurate notions of Arab tribes to suppose, however, that many, or even one of them, could occupy so confined a range as this hill only.

|| Geographiæ Antiquæ, lib. iii. c. 13. p. 306. 4to.

¶ These numbers, in Josephus, of thirty furlongs' ascent to the top of Mount Tabor, says his commentator Whiston, whether we estimate it by winding and gradual

ascended on its north side. Its top is a plain of thirty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall." Josephus erected this long wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below: for the inhabitants only made use of rain-water. As, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design; as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side. For Placidus spoke mildly to them, aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain. They also came down, as complying with his proposals; but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it. However, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away; and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and there made his horsemen turn back. Whereupon he beat them, and

or by the perpendicular altitude; and of twenty-six furlongs' circumference upon the top; as also the fifteen furlongs for this ascent in Polybius; with Geminus's perpendicular altitude of almost fourteen furlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrell, an eye-witness, p. 112., who says he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this Mount Tabor; and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length, and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote three furlongs for the ascent or altitude, instead of thirty; and six furlongs for the circumference at top, instead of twenty-six. Since a mountain of only three furlongs' perpendicular altitude may easily require near an hour's ascent; and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near six furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as twenty-six furlongs, or three miles and a quarter, at that height be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, (*ibid.*) in the small interval of forty days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

Polybius speaks of Atabyrium as a city, saying it was seated on a hill of a globular form whose height was more than fifteen stadia. Antiochus took it by stratagem, and secured its possession by leaving a garrison there before he marched against the cities on the east of the Jordan. Polyb. l. v. c. 6.

slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem: while the people of the country came to terms with him. For their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.*

Traditions here speak of a city built on the top, which sustained a five years' siege, drawing its supplies by skirmish from different parts of the fertile plains below, and being furnished with water from the two excellent cisterns still above; but as no fixed period is assigned to this event, it may probably relate to the siege of Vespasian just detailed.

Sufficient evidences remain, however, of its having been a place of great strength; and when it lost its character as a strong-hold, it assumed a new one of a holy sanctuary, so that the accumulated vestiges of successive forts and altars are now mingled in one common ruin.†

As there still remained the fragments of a wall on the south-east angle, somewhat higher than the rest, we ascended it over heaps of fallen buildings, and enjoyed from thence a prospect truly magnificent, wanting only the verdure of spring to make it beautiful as well as grand.

Placing my compass before me, we had on the north-west a view of the Mediterranean sea, whose blue surface filled up an open space left by a downward bend in the outline of the western hills; to the west-north-west a smaller portion of its waters were seen; and on the west again, the slender line of its distant horizon was just perceptible over the range of land near the sea-coast.

From the west to the south, the plain of Esdraelon extended

* Whiston's Josephus, Jewish War, book iv. c. 1. 8. . Ibid. book ii. c. 20. 5., and Antiq. book xiv. c. 6. 4.

† Among the scattered fragments of stone, we noticed several blocks with Arabic characters on them, in good relief, and evidently portions of some inscription; but none of these were sufficiently long to be intelligible, and the circumstances of the moment did not admit of our endeavouring to connect them.

over a vast space, being bounded on the south by the range of hills generally considered to be the Hermon, whose dews are poetically celebrated *, and having in the same direction, nearer the foot of Tabor, the springs of Ain-el-Sherrar, which send a perceptible stream through its centre, and form the brook Kison of antiquity. †

From the south-east to the east is the plain of Galilee, being almost a continuation of Esdraelon, and, like it, appearing to be highly cultivated, being now ploughed for seed throughout.

Beneath the range of this supposed Hermon, is seated Endor, famed for the witch who raised the ghost of Samuel, to the terror of the affrighted Saul ‡; and Nain, equally celebrated, as the place at which Jesus raised the only son of a widow from death to life, and restored him to his afflicted parent. §

The range which bounds the eastern view is thought to be the mountains of Gilboa, where the same Saul, setting an example of self-destruction to his armour-bearer and his three sons, fell on his own sword, rather than fall wounded into the hands of the uncircumcised Philistines, by whom he was defeated. ||

The sea of Tiberias, or the lake of Genasseret, famed as the scene of many miracles, is seen on the north-east filling the hollow of a deep valley, and contrasting its light blue waters with the dark brown shades of the barren hills by which it is hemmed around. Here too, the steep is pointed out, down which the herd of swine, who were possessed by the legion of devils, ran headlong into the sea. ¶

In the same direction, below, on the plain of Galilee and about an hour's distance from the foot of Mount Tabor, there is a cluster of buildings used as a bazar for cattle, frequented on Mondays only. Somewhat farther on is a rising ground, from which it

* Psalm cxxxiii. 3.

† 1 Samuel, xxviii.

|| 1 Samuel, xxxi.

† Psalm lxxxiii. 9.

§ St. Luke, vii.

¶ St. Luke, viii. 33.

is said, that Christ delivered the long and excellent discourse called the "Sermon on the Mount*," and the whole view in this quarter is bounded by the high range of Gebel-el-Telj, or the Mountain of Snow, whose summit was at this moment clothed with one white sheet without a perceptible breach or dark spot in it.

The city of Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia, a city said to be seen far and near, and thought to be alluded to in the apophthegm which says, "A city set on a hill cannot be hid †," is also pointed out in this direction; but though the day was clear, I could not distinguish it, its distance preventing its being defined from hence without a glass.

To the north were the stoney hills over which we had journeyed hither, and these completed this truly grand and interesting panoramic view. ‡

* Matthew, v. vi. vii.

† Matt. v. 14.

‡ Maundrell's descriptions and details are in general so accurate, that it is perhaps a duty to point out wherein they may occasionally fail. The bearings taken of the surrounding objects in the present instance, will be found to differ considerably from those assigned by that traveller, and can establish their claim to greater accuracy only from being observed by a compass, and noted on the spot; whereas, it appears probable to me, that the whole of Maundrell's error was occasioned by some falsely assumed position of the sun in the heavens at the time of observation, as the errors are consistent in the whole. Thus Deborah, which is written westward, should be northward: Hermon, which is written eastward, should be southward, and the mountain of Gilboa, which is written southward, should be eastward.

The plate which accompanies the octavo edition of his Journey (1810), is altogether so unlike the scene it is intended to represent, that I am sure it could not have been taken on the spot, nor drawn even from memory.* In the first place, Nain and Endor are not distinguishable from hence, though their sites are pointed out. The supposed Hermon is a range of hills running for several miles nearly east and west, and forming the southern boundary of the plain of Esdraelon. The mountains of Gilboa are a distant range crossing those of Hermon almost at right angles, and running nearly north and south; but not approaching near to the latter, since they are east of Jordan. The mountains of Samaria are on the west of all these, and nearer to the sea. The river Kishon has its springs near to the foot of Tabor, and winds considerably in its course. And the plain of Esdraelon, besides being of four or five times the extent there given by the perspective, is not bounded by steep cliffs rising thus abruptly from their base, but by a range of smooth and sloping hills. Lastly,

* See Plate V. facing page 152 of the octavo volume.

In our descent from Mount Tabor, we entered a grotto in which there had formerly been a church, and had scarcely got within it before we heard the rushing of persons about the outer part of the passage by which we had entered. On turning round to ascertain the cause of this noise, we observed five or six armed men, three of whom we recognised to be those who had made us such offers of their hospitality in the village of Deborah below. They called out to us, in a loud voice, that if we attempted the slightest resistance, we should be murdered; but that, if we submitted to be quietly stripped, no violence should be offered to our persons. There was no time for a parley, though my companions at first cried for mercy, but as I rushed out with my musket cocked and presented,

the Mount of Tabor, instead of the slender and towering pyramid there represented*, is a rounded hill of the elevation of about one thousand feet, and of a semiglobular shape, being longer at the base in every direction than it is high, and having its outlines smooth, and every part of a rounded form, since from below nothing is seen of the small level space on its summit. It is the last to the eastward of a range of four hills of a similar kind, all less conspicuous than itself, and all having distinct passes between them, but neither of them so completely isolated as this of Tabor.

While analyzing this, the same observations may be repeated on the plate of Acre and Mount Carmel, which is, if possible, still wider from the truth; while that of the cisterns of Solomon at Ras-el-Ayn, examined like the rest upon the spot, appeared to me so totally unlike the thing it was intended to represent, that I forebore even to make a remark on it, and closed the book with a persuasion, that so accurate an observer as Maundrell could never even have seen those drawings, much less approved of their being attached to his Travels. The fact perhaps is, that some well-meaning friend, or some interested booksellers, subsequently caused these drawings to be composed from the printed descriptions and charts of the places they profess to represent, and thus embellished, as they thought, while they really disgraced the book. This is the more probable, as no name is given either of the painter or engraver. Such a practice, however, cannot be too severely reprehended; as these plates not only give false impressions, which are avowedly worse than none at all, but what is a far greater evil, they do injustice to the memory of the worthy man and excellent traveller, for whose productions they are tacitly made to pass.

* But for the bushes that are placed on the sides of this hill, it might be taken rather for the tower of Babel, as sometimes represented in our old Bibles, than for the Mount of Tabor, and the scene of the transfiguration on its summit, for a sacrifice by fire there.

they instantly followed me, and an unexpected discharge drove our assailants to seek shelter behind the masses of rock near the cave. A regular skirmish now commenced, in which we kept up a retreating fire, and often exposed ourselves to their shot for the sake of getting to our mules at the foot of the hill. During a full hour of this kind of running fight, none of our own party was hurt. From the first, it seemed evident to us that we had been betrayed by our Deborah guide, and our notion was at length confirmed, by his going over to the assailing party and using his arms against us. Fortunately, and justly too, this man was himself wounded by a ball from my musket, and when he fell shrieking on the side of the hill, his companions hastened to his relief, while we profited by the alarm of the moment to continue our retreat, and rejoin our mules below.

Here we drew off at a short distance from the village of Deborah, and, with arms in our hands, being exhausted and fatigued, refreshed ourselves beneath a tree; but we had not yet remounted, when a large party, professing to be from the governor or sheikh of Deborah, a village consisting only of a few huts, came to sequester our beasts for what they called the public service. We treated this with a proper degree of warmth, and threatened death to the first that should dare to lay hands on any thing belonging to us; so that these brave villagers kept aloof.

My Nazarene guide, however, was so sickened by the obstacles which we had already met with, and alarmed at the prospect of new ones, that he declined to proceed any farther, and insisted on our return to Nazareth until more effectual measures could be taken for the safe prosecution of our journey.

In our return, we took what he considered to be a less dangerous route than that by which we had come out, and lying a little to the northward of it. On leaving the foot of Mount Tabor, we ascended rocky ground to the north; and in an hour afterwards, or about four o'clock, we passed close to the village of Ain-Hamil, on a hill. It was about five o'clock when we entered the village

of Cana of Galilee *, which is seated on the brow of a hill, facing the west, and is hemmed in by a narrow valley.

It has a ruined catholic church, with a door-way towards the north, and two pillars built in the front wall, showing their ends outwards. Opposite to it is a small Greek church, all the Christians here being of that communion. There are from fifty to sixty houses only in the whole, and less than half the population are Mahommedan.

Not a vestige of broken water-pots was now to be seen, as stated by some travellers, and thought by them to be a remarkable proof of the identity of the place where water was turned to wine.† We observed, however, an ancient sarcophagus near a well, at the foot of the road leading up to the village; having on its outer side, coarsely sculptured circles or globes, with drapery of festoons in relief. There is a large evergreen tree on the west of the town, and though the ground in the neighbourhood is stoney, it is partially cultivated.

Ascending and descending hills, we came at six o'clock to the village of Renny, similarly situated to that of Cana. We there observed, between two large wells, a sarcophagus exactly of the same description as that already mentioned, and like it used as a water-trough. We had a rocky road all the way from thence to Nazareth; which we entered about eight o'clock, from the eastward, descending a hill so steep and rugged that our mules fell repeatedly, and at every fall satisfied us that there was no long valley in that direction, as had been critically maintained.

* Celebrated for the first of Christ's miracles, at a marriage-feast there, at which he was a guest. St. John, chap. ii. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 370.

† Dr. Clarke and the Quarterly Reviewers.

CHAPTER VII.

MOUNT CARMEL, DORÄ, AND CÆSAREA.

JANUARY 13th. Being obliged to return to the sea-coast, we left Nazareth at nine o'clock, and passed many caves in the rock to the southward of the town. These were no doubt formerly the habitations of the Nazarenes, like the grotto of Mary and Joseph; as, even now, several of them serve as dwellings.* When on the hill above the town, we gave this scene a last survey, but still saw no valley opening in any direction from its hollow basin.

At half past nine we first opened a small round vale on the left or west, in which stood the little village of Yaffa, with a few date-trees; and a little further on, in the same direction, was the small village of Samoeeah, on a hill, with the plain of Esdraelon beyond it.

Descending a rocky hill, we came, at half past ten, to the village of Ghierbee. This is also on a hill, with wells at the foot of it, and caves near them, hewn beneath a steep cliff.

At eleven we entered the plain of Esdraelon, and continued over it until twelve, when we ascended a gentle hill, passed a deserted village, and entered on a second plain, leaving on a hill,

* Josephus, in his account of Herod's actions, says, "And he passed on to Sephoris through a very deep snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country. So he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela. Ant. l. xiv. c. 15. 4.

about a mile on the left, a village, the name of which we could not learn.

From hence we ascended again, and coming in sight of the bay of Accha, entered at one o'clock on the extensive plain which leads from hence southerly to the sea, on the north, and from the foot of the range of Mount Carmel westerly till it joins the plain of Zabulon on the east. Between the hills over which we came down upon it and the range of Carmel is a pass coming out from the plain of Esdraelon, through which the river Kishon finds its way. We soon crossed the bed of this river, now dry from the failure of the winter rains: it is called here Nahr-el-Mukutta, and winding its course through the plain, it discharges itself into the sea near Caypha.* On the left we had the small village of Sheikh Ibrahik, and a little further on we passed between Arbay† on a hill to the right, and Yajoor, under Carmel, to the left.

We again forded the river under that range, and at three reached the village of Belled-el-Sheikh, where we drank at a well from the pitcher of some handsome Syrian women, and observed again some boys playing at cricket. We saw the river Kishon now full and winding; and at four, continuing still along the foot of Carmel, reached Caypha, where we were kindly received by Padre Julio, of Malta, a carmelite friar. In his poor habitation we enjoyed a frugal supper and slept in the church, which was a small room not more than fifteen feet by eight, containing an humble altar and a profusion of gaudy ornaments surrounding an ill-executed picture of the Virgin.

14th. We arose early, and walked around the town of Caypha. It is walled and badly fortified, having two gates opening to the north and south, with only six cannon mounted on the ramparts. It was also entirely without guards, as the troops had all departed

* Pliny describes the river Belus as coming out of the lake Ceudivia, at the foot of Carmel, (Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 19.) but, as we have seen before, Belus was nearer to Ptolemais, and he must have confounded this stream with the Kishon.

† Probably the Arbela mentioned in the preceding note.

for Damascus. The population was estimated at about a thousand souls, and these chiefly Mohammedan, the rest being made up of Catholic and Maronite Christians, and Druses. The women of this last class here wear a horn pointing backwards from the crown of their heads, which distinguishes them from those of the other sects of religion, as well as from the Druses of Mount Lebanon, who wear a similar horn pointing forwards.

There are two mosques, one of which was formerly a Christian church; besides the small chapel for the Catholics and Maronites, who both attend worship together in the room in which I had slept on the preceding night; and all parties are said to live in harmony.

Caypha is thought to be the old Calamon, which in the Jerusalem itinerary is placed at twelve miles from Ptolemais*; and Sycaminos, which is only three miles from this in the way to Jerusalem, is placed by Ptolemy in the same latitude as Mount Carmel.† This is to be distinguished, however, from the Calamos, in Phœnicia, of Strabo and Pliny; as Polybius furnishes us with details which fix the site of that place on the northern coast of Syria, between Ladikea and Bairoot.‡ Caypha is said to derive its present name from "Hepha" or "Kepha," expressive of the rocky ground on which it is built. It is called Cayphos in the old histories of the crusaders §, the name which it still retains.

Quitting Caypha at seven o'clock, and walking along the plain between the eastern foot of Carmel and the bay, through thickly-planted olive-trees and cultivated ground, we ascended to the summit of the mountain, while the mules went round the common path-way encompassing the promontory by the sea-shore.

* Pococke's Description of the East, vol. i. p. 55.

† Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 309.

‡ "Antiochus arriving now at Marathos, was met there by the people of Aradus. He then entered Syria along the mountain called Theoprosopos, and came to Berytus; having taken Botrys in his march, and set fire to Calamus and Triers." Polybius, l. v. c. 6. s. 10.

§ Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 47. 4to.

The view of the bay of Accho from this point gave it a much rounder form than it assumes in most of our maps; and the distances prove it to be really so, as Caypha is distant from Accho just three leagues in a strait line, and it is a three hours' walk only, or from nine to twelve miles around the beach from one of these places to the other.

We visited here the monastery which stands on the summit of Mount Carmel, near the spot where Elias offered up his sacrifice*, and which gave rise to, and remained for a long period the head-quarters of the order of Carmelite friars. It appears never to have been a fine building; but it is now entirely abandoned, and the monk who has charge of it lives in the town of Caypha below. During the campaign of the French in Syria, this monastery was made a hospital for their sick, for which its retired and healthy situation as well as its interior structure admirably adapted it. It has been subsequently ravaged by the Turks, and has had its altars stripped and its roof beaten in; though there still remains, for the view of devout visitors, a small stone altar in a grotto dedicated to St. Elias, over which is a coarse painting representing the prophet leaning on a wheel, with fire and other symbols of sacrifice near. The priest, who was our guide thus far, commented as usual on the event it was intended to commemorate; yet, though seven years a resident here, and brought up from his infancy as a member of the Carmelite order, he could not refer us either to the book or the age of the Scriptures in which this sacrifice of Elias was recorded; but seemed to tell his tale as much by rote as any of the guides who show the tombs of our heroic ancestors in Westminster Abbey.

In our search after the city said to have stood formerly on Mount Carmel, and to have been called the Syrian Ecbatana †,

* See the account of this sacrifice, and the destruction of the priests of Baal, who were slaughtered at the brook Kishon, in the first book of Kings, chap. xviii. v. 17. *et seq.*

† Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 19. — Strabo, Geog. l. xvi. p. 758, 759.

in contradistinction to the Median capital of that name, we recognised few vestiges, except a fine large column of grey granite lying near the monastery, and another that had been rolled down from the brow of the hill on the east, of similar size and material. These we thought might have been portions of some large and magnificent building belonging to that city. As the Carmelite never troubled himself with traditions that were not purely scriptural, we could not learn from him that any existed here regarding the city of Ecbatana or the death of Cambyses in it, after his conquest of Egypt.* In the note on the passage of Herodotus which relates this event, Mr. Beloe says, "Batanea in Palestine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana," and refers to D'Anville as his authority. The French geographer places this, however, much farther eastward in his writings; though a town called Batanea is laid down on the range of Carmel in the map. "Batanea," he says, "is another country which covers the north of Galaaditis, and its name is preserved in that of Batinia, as we find in the oriental geographers. This is the country, conquered by the people of Israel, under Og, king of Basan, to whose territories was contiguous in Galaad what Sihon, king of the Amorites, possessed; and there is reason to believe that of the primitive Basan was afterwards formed the name of Batanea. Its district appears to be separated from the Tiberiad lake by a margin of land called Gaulonitis, from Golan or Gaulon, the name of a strong fortress distinctly indicated in the oriental geography, under the name of Agheloun or Adgeloun.† The country of Batanea is therefore in the valley of Jordan, where Beisan, probably the original Basan, is situated, at the western edge of the mountains of Adjeloon, and south of the lake of Tiberias, consequently, very distant from this; nor

* See this story in Herodotus, *Thaliti*, lxiv., where it is very aptly coupled in the notes with a similar fiction of a prophecy in our own history, when it was predicted that Henry IV. should die in Jerusalem; and this was fulfilled by his expiring in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, as Cambyses was warned of dying in Ecbatana, (in Media as he supposed,) and expired at this Ecbatana of Syria.

† Compendium of Ancient Geography, p. 419.

could I learn any thing of a place now called Batanea at all in this neighbourhood.

That Batanea was the name of a district rather than a town, and perfectly distinct from Ecbatana, may be seen also in Josephus. In the details of the conduct of Varus against Agrippa, in the history of his own life, this writer says, "He moreover slew many of the Jews, to gratify the Syrians of Cæsarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take arms, and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana, for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cæsarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana."* This Syrian Ecbatana is positively stated to have been on Mount Carmel†, and is likely therefore to have been on this point of it where the ruins are, and where its situation would have been so advantageous in many points of view.

On the edge of the bay below, and a little to the northward of Caypha, were pointed out to us the ruins of Porphyron. It has been thought by some that the name of Porphureon was given to Caypha, from the purple fish found on this coast, with which they made the Tyrian dye.‡ But besides that, Caypha and Porphyron are distinct places, separated by a distance of at least two miles; the latter is spoken of by Polybius, in his history of the war in Asia, between Antiochus and Ptolemy, for the sovereignty of Coele-Syria. Antiochus, being at Seleucia, drew together all his forces, designing to attack Coele-Syria both by land and sea. At the same time Ptolemy, who was in Egypt, sent large supplies of stores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a

* Life of Josephus, vol. iii. § 11. p. 116. 8vo.

† Oppidum in Carmelo monte, quod Plinius memoravit, eodem auctore Ecbatana fuit dictum. In hoc Oppido, Cambyzes rex Persarum mortuus est, cui oraculum Ecbatana fatalem locum prædixerat, quem ille de urbe Mediæ intellexit; oraculum autem de Ecbatanis Syriæ loquebatur, ut Herodotus tradit, lib. 3. cap. 64." — Cellarius. Geog. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 13.

‡ Pococke, vol. ii. p. 56. folio. D'Anville, p. 411. 8vo.

large army. The fleet was composed of thirty decked vessels, with more than four hundred ships of transport. He sent away a part of his army to possess themselves of the defiles of Platanus; while himself, encamping with the rest near Porphyryion, resolved, with the assistance of the fleet which was stationed near him, to oppose on that side the entrance of the king. * No situation could it be more requisite to guard than this, as the bay of Acre offers the best place of operation for a fleet on the whole coast of Syria, and the road of Caypha, opposite to Porphyryion, is still the safest anchorage to be found there: so that, while a detachment of his army under the Etolian general Nicolaus, guarded the defiles of Platanus on the north, his fleet and the remainder of his troops would effectually secure the country from invasion on the south.

We ascended to the highest summit of the monastery, on which a flag-staff was planted, and took from thence the bearings of surrounding objects, to assist in the rectification of the map †; at the same time that we enjoyed an extensive and delightful prospect.

We could now perceive that Mount Carmel was a range of hills, extending six or eight miles nearly north and south, coming from the plain of Esdraelon, and ending in the promontory or cape which forms the bay of Accho. It is of a whitish stone, with

* Polybius, book v. chap. 6. § 9.

† Bearings taken from Mount Carmel.

Ruins of Athlete, on the sea-coast, ...	S. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. 9 miles.
Village of Tartoura, do.	S. S. W. 20
A deep bay or indentation of the shore, ...	S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 25
Ras-el-Nakhora, a high bluff cape, ...	N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 15
Town of Acre or Accho, its centre, ...	N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 12*
Summit of Gebel-el-Telj or Gebel-el-Sheikh, ...	N. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 50
Ruined town of Porphyryion, ...	E. N. E. 1
A brig at anchor in Caypha roads, ...	E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 3
Southern extreme of the bay of Accho, and the mouth of	
Kishon, ...	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 4
Town of Caypha, its centre, ...	S. E. by E. 3
Village of Shufammer, on the hills, ...	E. S. E. 10
Deepest part of the bay of Accho, ...	East, 4

* Called 120 stadia by Josephus. De Bello Jud. lib. xi. c. 17.

flints imbedded in it. It has, on the east, the fine plain described on entering Caypha, watered by the river Kishon; and, on the west, a narrower plain, descending to the sea. Its greatest height does not exceed fifteen hundred feet. *

Leaving the monastery, we descended the hill on the north side, passing several inconsiderable grottoes in the way, all small and rude; as well as the ruins of a convent partly excavated in the hills, with a cistern of good water near. Below, on the north-east side, we came to a sort of caravansera, built before a fine cave, facing to the N. N. E. Into this we entered, and found it to be a well-hewn chamber, cut entirely out of the rock, and squared with great care; being twenty paces long, twelve broad, and from fifteen to eighteen feet high. It has a cell on the left, on entering, nearly in the centre of its eastern side, large, but roughly hewn; and around the south end, and west side, runs a low bench of stone. A kind of altar, in a high recess, stands at its further end, immediately opposite to the door of entrance, before which there were, at this moment, a curtain and a lamp. Beneath were mats and carpets, for the accommodation of visitors. It thus forms a comfortable halt for travellers, as it affords shelter and shade, and has a cistern of excellent water, a place for horses, and a coffee-house adjoining. It is called the "School of Elias," from a notion that the prophet taught his disciples there. It was formerly in Christian hands, but it is now taken care of by Mohammedans, who have built all these convenient establishments about it. On the walls several Greek inscriptions appeared, which we had not time to copy; and we saw also, among a multitude of visitors' names, some written recently in Hebrew characters, by Jews from Accho†;

* Caypha seems to be the place meant by Benjamin of Tudela, when he speaks of Niphas, which he places at the distance of three leagues from Accho, Akadi, or Ghaco, and says it was then called *Gad Proper*, to distinguish it from Cæsarea.

† Benjamin mentions, in his time, several Jewish sepulchres at the foot of Carmel, and the cave of the prophet Elias, with a chapel built above it by the Christians. He says also, that part of the altar remained which was burnt and destroyed in the time of Achab, of which mention is made in the history of Elias, and observed that the torrent of Chison descended near the mountain.

this place being held in equal esteem by Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians. It has been already observed that at Ecbatana there were Jews who were peculiarly distinguished as Babylonians by Josephus, when he describes the expedition of Varus against the Jews of Ecbatana *; and D'Anville has observed, that the respect of the Jews for this mountain was communicated also to the Pagans †; which will account for the inscriptions of visitors in Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Arabic characters.

In all, we saw about twenty small grottoes, but were told that amid the ruins of Porphyryon, which lie on the plain, within a few yards, many more were to be seen, which the pressure of our haste did not allow us to visit. This Porphyryon is said to have been built by St. Louis, during the crusades, though probably it was only fortified by him. It has nothing remaining but a small tower near the sea, and the foundations of ruined dwellings. The plain on which it was situated is extremely fertile, and the modern Caypha is said to have been built from its ruins.

At nine o'clock we mounted our mules, at the point of the promontory of Carmel; and taking leave of Padre Julio, continued our way southward along the sea-coast. Here the plain being covered with bushes, we met a party of soldiers in chace of a large black wild-boar, which still fled from the horsemen, although wounded and streaming with blood. We saw here, also, large king vultures, with the feathered ring around their necks, and from four to five feet high.

At ten we had come on a cultivated plain ‡, and had the small village of Etteery on our left, at the foot of the range of Carmel. From this point we saw the ruined walls and arches of Athlete §,

* Life of Josephus, vol. iii. s. 11. p. 117. 8vo.

† Compendium of Ancient Geography, vol. i. p. 411.

‡ Carmelus, Mons Hebraicè Carmel, mons insignis, fertilis in pascuis, fructibus et herbis, ferax vini delicatissimi. — Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanc. p. 45.

§ This is called Castel Pellegrino in all the old itineraries of the Holy Land, as may be seen in Hakluyt. In the middle ages it is said to have been called Petra Incisa, probably from its situation on an insulated rock. Its present name of Athlete is thought to have been given it by the Greeks, to express its strength.

which we could not enter at that moment, though I passed it with considerable reluctance, more particularly as Pococke's description of it as "a place so magnificent and so finely built as to be one of the things best worth seeing in these parts," had led me to expect much gratification from the inspection of its remains.

From hence we crossed behind a range of low sandy hills, near the sea, showing rocky fragments in several parts, and at one o'clock we entered a passage cut out of a bed of rock, called "Waad-el-Ajal." * There were appearances of a gate having once closed it, as places for hinges were still seen; and, while the centre was just broad enough for the passage of a wheeled carriage or a laden camel, there were, on each side, raised causeways, hewn down out of the rock, as if for benches of repose, or for foot passengers. This passage, which was very short, brought us out almost opposite to Athlete, which stands near the sea, and presents from hence the appearance of very massive ruins, in arches, walls, &c.

Turning again to the south, and continuing along the western side of this bed of rock, through which the passage was cut, we saw excavated chambers, square places hewn down, others partly decayed, and partly broken by force; the whole presenting the appearance of former habitations cut out of the rock, and showing marks of greater antiquity than any thing we had yet seen in our journey.

At half-past two we reached the well of Terfoon, so called from a village of that name on the range of rock described. This well was sunk through its solid bed; and further on were other small villages on its summit; the whole way, for nearly two hours, showing marks of ancient excavated dwellings, cisterns, square open spaces, &c.

At three we entered a wide pass, on each side of which were grottoes and caverns; and alighting here to examine those on the

* This name of Waad-el-Ajal signifies literally "The Valley of Death," from وادي or وادی a valley, and اجل death, fate, destiny.

left, we found grottoes entered by arched doors, having benches of stone within, with cisterns of water near them, and little flights of steps leading from one to the other, like the smaller caves of Kenneri in the island of Salsette, which they resembled in many particulars. We found four of these extremely well designed, having concave recesses in the interior walls, and showing marks of great care in their execution. They were all small and low; and though hewn out of the solid rock, many were now destroyed, by the breaking down and falling in of the rock itself, from mere age and decay. The whole of these caves, from Waad-el-Ajal to this place, were, no doubt, habitations of the ancient Canaanites, some of their strong-holds near the sea, from which the children of Israel could not dislodge them. They presented altogether an appearance of the highest antiquity.

At four we entered Tartoura, a small village, consisting of not more than forty or fifty dwellings, without a mosque, but having a khan for the accommodation of travellers; and a small port formed by a range of rocky islets at a short distance from the sandy beach. It has a ruined building on the north, which Father Julio, at Mount Carmel, told us was called by Franks the "Accursed Tower;" but he could assign no reason for such a forbidding name. It has no such appellation in Arabic, being called merely "Khallat-el-Ateek," or the "Old Castle."

This is conceived, with great probability, to be the Dor of the Scriptures, first mentioned in the Book of Joshua, among the towns which Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher*; and next in the Book of Judges, where it is similarly enumerated among the towns from which this same tribe of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants, but were obliged to let them remain as tributaries in the land.† It is spoken of as one of the kingdoms on the borders of the coast, on the west, and its king is enumerated among those conquered sovereigns of the Canaanites, whom Joshua

* Joshua, xvii. 11.

† Judges, i. 27.

and the children of Israel smote, and whose lands they disposed of among themselves.* It was afterwards governed by one of the twelve princes of Solomon, who is called the son of Abinidab, and is said to have had Taphath the daughter of Solomon to wife.†

By Josephus it is called Dora, and it is first mentioned in speaking of the division of the land after Joshua's overthrow of the kings of Canaan. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and was bounded by Azotus and Dora.‡ In the history of his own life, it is mentioned as a city of Phœnicia§; and, in his account of the Jewish war, it is spoken of as besieged by Simon, the priest and prince of the Jews, who was an auxiliary of Antiochus, when Trypho had taken refuge within its fortress.¶ The particulars of this siege are detailed more fully in the history of the Maccabees. "In the hundred three-score and fourteenth year, went Antiochus into the land of his fathers: at which time all the forces came together unto him, so that few were left with Tryphon. Wherefore, being pursued by King Antiochus, he fled unto Dora, which lieth by the sea-side: for he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him. Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen. And when he had compassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea-side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in. So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day, assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in. In the mean time fled Tryphon by ship unto Orthosias."¶¶

These details serve to fix beyond doubt that Dora was seated on the sea-shore, as well as that it was on a peninsula nearly sur-

* Joshua, xi. 2.; xii. 23.

† Ant. Jud. l. v. c. 1. s. 22.

‡ Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 2. s. 2.

† 1 Kings, iv. 11.

§ Life of Josephus, s. 8.

¶ 1 Maccabees, xv. 10—37.

rounded by water, which corresponds with the appearance of the neck of land on which the castle now remaining is situated.

In the time of Pompey, it is enumerated among the maritime cities which he freed from the dominion of the Coelo Syrians, when he reduced Judea within its proper bounds* ; and about five years afterwards, it is numbered among the cities that were restored by Gabinius. " At which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora ; Marissa also, and Gaza ; and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited ; which had been desolate for a long time."†

In its present condition, it is so far fallen from its former consequence as scarcely to present by its ruins an idea of its extent or strength, in its original state, though it is not entirely desolate. Its present inhabitants, perhaps five hundred in number, are all Mohammedan, and are governed by a sheikh, who received us at the khan, and bade us enter. This building resembled the cottage in which we had remained a night at the village of Musshoor, before entering Accho ; being divided into four compartments by three arcades, and having its flat roof covered by boughs of trees plastered over on the top. We found a clean mat, and shelter for ourselves and our beasts ; and the man in attendance furnished us with fire-wood, which was all we needed, as we had rice and bread with us.

During supper we were joined by two Turkish soldiers, halting here, from Jaffa, and were visited in turn by the elders of the village, each of them demanding from whence we came, whither we were going, and what was the object of our journey. They enquired eagerly after Bonaparte, whom they all knew ; and desired to know when there would be rain, for the want of which their tillage had been long retarded. We continued thus occupied

* Josephus, Jewish War, l. i. c. 7. s. 7.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xiv. c. 5. s. 3.

until about nine o'clock, when we were suffered to repose in tranquillity.

15th. Having slept soundly after our fatigue, we found on awaking, and preparing to depart, that all our remaining provisions had been stolen from our basket during the night, though it lay close to my servant's head. We had a long journey before us, and no time to be lost: we, therefore, set out unprovided, leaving Tartoura about five, by the light of a full moon; and, continuing along the sea-shore, passed, in half an hour, a small rocky islet, very similar to those which form the port of the village itself.

At half-past six we forded a narrow inlet of the sea, which we did not conceive to be the river of Cæsarea, spoken of by Pococke as having crocodiles in it; but rather the Chorsoes of Ptolemy, which he places four miles south of Dora, to which this accurately corresponds; and being now on a beach covered with small shells, we came, at half-past seven, to the ruins of the ancient Cæsarea, still called by the Arabs Kissary.

Notwithstanding the almost utter demolition of this celebrated city, abandoned long since to silent desolation, it was impossible not to feel the strongest curiosity regarding its topography, and to desire to examine minutely every stone and fragment of the ruins of so much magnificence as had once adorned its *site. Though a city of but secondary importance in the Jewish annals, there are few others of whose origin we have more ample, or perhaps more accurate details than is given of this by the great historian of that people.

The devotion of Herod to Cæsar was such, that, as this writer observes, "To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cæsar's honour. For when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful

* Cæsarea illa incredibili magnificentia ab Herode aucta est. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

marks of esteem into his province, and built many cities, which he called Cæsareas." * In another place the same historian says, after describing the extravagant manner in which Herod built cities and erected temples close upon the boundaries of Judea, since it would not have been borne within the limits of that holy land itself, the Jews being forbidden to pay any honour to images or representations of animals after the manner of the Greeks; "The apology which Herod made to the Jews for these things was this; that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Cæsar and the Romans; as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye, as he had the honour of those Romans; while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, being only very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity."†

Be the motive what it might, the execution of the work was worthy of a royal hand, and displayed at once, by the rapidity with which it was completed, the extent of his resources, and the popularity of the task with those to whom it was committed. The details of this work are sufficiently interesting to be repeated here, more particularly as they cannot fail to illustrate or be illustrated by local description. The historian of Herod says, "Now, upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and, what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with an haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyreæum at Athens, and had towards the city a double station

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 21. s. 4.

† Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship, which was the more remarkable, being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was perfected by materials from other places at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phœnicia*, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; hence the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land, as might be sufficient for an haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety. And this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side, was two hundred feet wide; the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay, or landing-place, which ran round the entire

* Ammianus Marcellinus reckons it, however, in Palestine, which is more accurate. "La Palestine est la dernière des Syries; elle est d'une vaste étendue, abond en terres cultivés et agréables, et renferment quelques villes également belles, et qui semblent disputer de rivalité. Telles sont Cæsarei qu' Herode batit en l'honneur d'Octavien, Eleutheropolis, Neapolis, Ascalon, Gaza, toutes construits dans les siècles passés." v. i. l. iv. c. 18. p. 57. Lyon, 12mo. 1778. Instead of the indefinite phrase of "vaste étendue," Pliny calls the length of Palestine 180 miles from the confines of Arabia on the south, to where it meets the borders of Phœnicia on the north. Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 13.

haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise. But the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left-hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, made very strong to resist the greatest waves; while, on the right hand, as you enter, stood upright two vast stones joined together, and those each of them larger than the turret, which was over against them. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. The city itself was called Cæsarea, and was also built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure. Nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them, than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city and washed it all clean. Herod also built thereon a theatre of stone, and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. This city was thus finished in twelve years, at the sole expense of Herod.” *

It was about the twenty-second year before the Christian era that this city was begun, and in the tenth year before the same period that it was completed, though there is a difference of two years in the time assigned to its building by the same author. After saying, as we have seen, that it was finished in twelve years at the sole expense of Herod, he says in another place, “ About

* Josephus, *Antiq.* l. xv. c. 9. s. 6.

this time it was that Cæsarea Sebasta, which Herod had built, was finished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it falling into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad.*

It was during the building of this city that Herod himself went to meet Marcus Agrippa, who had sailed from Italy into Asia, and brought him into Judea, where he omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends at Sebasta and Cæsarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium and Herodium, and Hyrcania.†

To show the importance that was attached to the completion of this maritime city and its port, as a work of more than ordinary magnificence, the same author adds, "There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made to its dedication. For he had appointed a contention in music and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose. Horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent. Nay, Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture (from Rome); insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now, when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received (from Herod); he entertained them all with a noble generosity in the public inns, and at public tables, with perpetual feasts; this so-

* Josephus, *Antiq.* l. xvi. c. 5. s. 1.

† *Ibid.* l. xvi. c. 2. s. 1.

lemnity having, in the day-time, the diversions of the shows, and in the night, such banquetting as cost vast sums of money. For in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exceed whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, that ‘The dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, that he deserved to have all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.’”*

It was not long after this, that the scene of joy and congratulation was turned into one of tumult and contention. In the year of Christ 54, when Nero reigned in Rome and Felix was procurator of Judea, a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cæsarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens. For the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cæsarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato’s Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. †

It had by this time become the great sea-port of Palestine, and in the history of the voyages of the Apostles, frequent mention is made of their embarkation and landing there: ‡ Cornelius, the centurion, who worshipped Peter on his entering the city from Joppa, each of them having had remarkable dreams which led to their interview §, resided at Cæsarea, and is said, by tradition, to have been the first bishop of the city. Paul, after touching at Tyre on his voyage from Greece into Phœnicia, came to Ptolemais; and from thence to Cæsarea, where he and his companions tarried

* Josephus, *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 1.*

† Acts, ix. 30. and xviii. 22.

‡ Ibid. l. xx. c. 8. s. 7.

§ Ibid. x.

with Philip the Evangelist, whose four virgin daughters were distinguished by the gift of prophecy ; and at whose house, Agabus, a prophet who had come down from Judea, predicted the future bondage of the apostle, by binding himself with Paul's own *girdle.

Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was the high priest before whom Paul so nobly pleaded his own cause ; when, on being commanded to be smitten on the mouth by those that stood by, for merely protesting the innocence of his life, he exclaimed, in the language of a freeman, " God shall smite thee, thou whited wall ; for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ?" † This was after the murder of Jonathan the high priest in the temple, and previous to the sacerdotal appointment of Ishmael, the son of Fabi, by king Agrippa, under whose high priesthood Percius Festus was sent as successor to Felix, by Nero ; the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea going even to Rome to accuse Felix. ‡

It was before this Felix that Paul himself was accused by Ananias, who had descended from Jerusalem to Cæsarea with the elders, and a certain orator, named Tertullus, for that purpose ; and to the same governor that he offered the eloquent defence, in which, as he reasoned on righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, even the stern Roman trembled. §

The period between this first accusation before Felix and the arrival of Percius Festus to succeed him, was passed by Paul in a two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea ; Felix detaining him under the hope of bribe or ransom. Being left in bonds by the one, he was found so by the other ; and after a visit of Festus from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, he was, on his return, again cited before the judgment-seat, to answer the charges of his accusers. The bold and eloquent replies to Festus, the appeal to Cæsar, and the pleadings before Agrippa, with the perils of the voyage to Italy from this

* Acts, xxi.

† Josephus, Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

‡ Ibid. xxiii. 3.

§ Acts, xxiv. 25.

port *, all gave an interest to the spot, while treading on its ruins, which one must really feel to appreciate fully.

In the description of the march of Titus across the desert of Pelusium, from Egypt to Palestine, with intent to besiege Jerusalem, he is said to have halted at Cæsarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his forces together at that place. † And after the memorable siege and fall of this devoted city, (A.D. 70.), “ Titus went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave orders that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.” ‡

During the long period which elapsed between this event and the rise of the Mohammedan power, I know of no remarkable details regarding it; but in the middle of the seventh century its capture closed the list of conquests which had been so brilliantly and rapidly achieved by the Saracen leaders of the Syrian war. “ Constantine, the eldest son of Heraclius, had been stationed with forty thousand men at Cæsarea, then the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine, but his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court, and after the flight of his father, he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the Caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Calid himself. From the north and south, the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities. Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed, and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered, without distrust, the captive harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp

* Acts, xxii.—xxviii.

† Josephus, Jewish War, l. iv. c. 11. s. 5.

‡ Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 7. s. 3.

of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea. The Roman prince had embarked in the night, and the defenceless citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Ptolemais or Achre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the Caliphs, seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings. *

In the time of the Rabbi Benjamin, who called it Siterié, it was still a handsome and fine city, and was thought by him to be the Gad of the early Scriptures. † It is often mentioned in Arabic writers under the name of Kaissariah Sham, or Cæsarea of ‡ Syria; and by the Christian historians of the holy wars under its proper name. §

In examining the ruins of this celebrated spot, we first passed the remains of a building with fine Roman arches, many of which still remained perfect, while other masses of fallen fragments lay scattered beneath them. A little beyond were the remains of another pile, with five or six granite columns fallen into the sea, on the very edge of which these buildings appear to have been originally erected. They appeared to us to correspond, both in situation and form, with the edifices appropriated to the residence of the mariners, which had a great number of arches, and before them a quay that ran round the whole haven, and formed an agreeable walk near the sea. ||

Ascending from the beach, we saw fragments of white marble highly polished, and an abundance of broken pottery of the ribbed or grooved kind, so common amid Egyptian ruins; and this we

* Gibbon's Dec. and Fall, c. li. p. 419.

† Bergeron's Collection.

‡ Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. i. p. 478.

§ Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. p. 48.

|| See before, p. 128.

conceived to mark the site of the edifices which stood all along the circular haven, and were built of the most polished stone, while the pottery might have been fragments of domestic utensils, or of broken vessels used in the service of the temple that stood here. *

We next came to the principal remains, which presented to us the ruins of a large and well-built fort of an irregular form, having four sides facing nearly towards the cardinal points, and the western one fronting the sea.

On its northern front we observed four pyramidal bastions with sloping sides, each about forty feet long at the base, twenty at the top, fifteen feet thick in the centre, and from twenty to twenty-five feet in perpendicular height. They were separated from each other by a space of twice their own length, which was occupied by the main wall of the fort, excellently built; and near the centre, within the wall, we saw the remains of a large building with the arched gateway of a passage through it.

On the eastern front, which is of greater extent than the northern, were ten similar bastions, including both of those at the angles. Opposite to the fourth, from the north-east angle, we observed a well, and looking down into it, saw distinctly an arched passage of undetermined extent; which was doubtless one of those subterranean vaults constructed for the carrying off the filth of the city by the influx of the sea; and as far as the eye could trace it from above, it seemed to confirm the assertion of the historian, that these subterranean vaults had no less of architecture bestowed on them, than had the buildings above ground. † Within the fort immediately opposite to this, was a small square edifice; and near it another building with a pointed arched gateway leading through it. Over the fifth bastion still remains the portion of a covered passage with an arched door of entrance into it, and close by another pointed arched window in the upper wall of the fort. Near this we saw on the outside, a large stone ring, or hollow

* See before, p. 129.

† See the passage before quoted, p. 129.

circle, now broken in two, resembling the hollowed bases of columns used over the mouths of the ancient cisterns at Alexandria, and no doubt once applied to the same purpose here. Over the seventh bastion are remains of a still larger mass of building than those seen before, though now much broken; and here a wall ran across the ditch, the arched door of which wall is still perfect, though a piece of the wall itself seems to have been separated, and is now laid up against the original mass like a broad plank. In the northern division of the ditch, close by this door, is seen a flight of steps leading up from the ditch to the fort. Between the eighth and ninth bastion, the remains of the upper wall has arched windows in it; which, with the fragments seen elsewhere, lead to a supposition that they ran all around the fort. The tenth bastion forms the south-east angle, and nearly opposite to it we saw the shaft of a grey granite column, and several pieces both of sculptured and of polished marble, fragments of the sumptuous palaces which were constructed of white stone in various parts of the *city.

The southern front of the fort is more irregular in its form and proportions than the two others described. Between this bastion of the angle and the next western one, is a wide space of wall, over which we observed the fragments of an arch, with rich mouldings and other sculptured ornaments. The second bastion is larger than its preceding one, and between it and the third appears to have been the principal gate of entrance. In the walls are still seen long, slender loop-holes, arches, and a sloping funnel running up on the west side of the remains of the gate itself. The third bastion is very small, and here the wall turns off to the north-west, having another small bastion near it, from whence it continues rounding down to the sea in the form of the beach.

The whole terminates in an edifice on a rocky base, surrounded by enormous blocks of stone, the disjointed masses of the ancient

* See the description of this edifice, p. 127, 128.

mole now washed by the waves, of which edifice scarcely any perfect portion remains, but among whose ruins are seen fragments of at least twenty granite columns. This may probably be the tower of Drusus, which was the largest and most excellent of the towers near the sea, and was built on the mole itself*, where this ruin still stands, having braved the raging fury of two thousand winters, and still defying the storms of ocean to effect its total demolition, though its venerable ruins are lashed by an almost eternal foam.

The fort was surrounded on the north, the east, and the south, by a ditch about thirty feet broad and twenty deep. The whole seems to have been well-built, and of great strength, and appears rather to have been demolished by a besieging force than to have fallen gradually to decay.

The fragments of granite pillars, and other marks of splendour seen near the sea, are unquestionably remains of the ancient Cæsarea of Herod; but the fort itself, as it now stands, is as evidently a work of the Crusaders, who had one of their chief military stations here. The great city extended itself from the sea-shore to some distance inland; but its ruin is so complete, that the most diligent survey would scarcely be rewarded by the fixing with accuracy the site of any of the public buildings, or even the delineation of its precise form from the foundation of its walls.

The plan of Cæsarea given by Pococke is a tolerably accurate outline of the portion of the coast on which its ruins stand, as well as of the fortress there†; but the mounds in which he thought he could recognise the sites of the tower of the Drusus, Cæsar's temple, the colossal statues of Augustus and of Rome, the forum, and the theatre, are mere masses of indefinable form, and without a feature that could assist to distinguish the one from the other.

* See the description of this edifice, p. 128.

† Description of the East, vol. i. part 2. p. 21. folio. Plate V. B.

At the present moment, the whole of the surrounding country is also a sandy desert towards the land; the waves wash the ruins of the moles, the towers, and the port, toward the sea; and not a creature resides within many miles of this silent desolation.

At half-past eight we quitted Cæsarea, and continued our way along the shore, chiefly on a sandy beach, with here and there beds of rock towards the sea. At ten we turned up from the sea-side on a desert ground, and at eleven we came down again to travel on the beach, without noticing any waters about the site of the old Crocodilorum Lacus of the ancients. I could not learn that it still bore the name of "Moiet-el-Temsah," as asserted by D'Anville*; nor did we cross even the bed of a stream there, as marked in his map. Pococke† supposed the stream three miles north of Cæsarea, called by him Zirka, to have been the Crocodilon of Pliny‡, which he mentions with a city of the same name, spoken of also by Strabo§ as a place that was then destroyed. || The crocodiles are said to have been in the river of Cæsarea of Palestine, which may be either the Kersoes of Ptolemy, four miles south of Dora, or the stream of Zirka, north of Cæsarea; but in the place marked for the lake and river by D'Anville, we did not see even a dry bed to warrant our assent to the position assigned to it.

At half-past eleven we crossed a low point of land, called Min Tabos Aboora¶, where is a small bay, obstructed by broken masses of rock. It was said to be a *scala*, to which fruit is brought from the neighbouring country, behind Jaffa and to the

* Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 403.

† Descr. of the East, vol. ii. part 1. p. 58.

‡ Hinc redeundum est ad oram, atque Phœnicen. Fuit oppidum Crocodilon est flumen: memoria urbium Dorum, Sycaminon. Plin. Nat. 5—19.

§ Strabo, 16. 758.

|| Johannis de Vitriaco Historia Hierosolymitana, c. 86. Crocodili habitant in flumine Cæsaræ Palestinæ; as quoted in Reland's Palestine, lib. iii. under Cæsarea. Breidenbac also mentions crocodiles in a lake to the east of Cæsarea.

¶ مينا or Mina, the first syllable of this name, signifies a port or harbour; and the remainder may be the name of some person whom tradition has coupled with the place.

north of it, and here shipped in boats for the more northern ports of Syria. Continuing still near the sea, we turned up at twelve, and crossed over a desert ground, chiefly covered with sand, long wild grass, and a few bushes, amidst which some Bedouin boys were attending their flocks of goats.

At one we came in sight of a cultivated plain, with a long valley running eastward, and showing us on the hill the small village of Belled-el-Sheikh Moosa, having a large building in its centre, like that of Shufammer, before described.

We crossed this valley, and ascending a gentle hill, came, at half-past one o'clock, in sight of a more extensive and beautiful plain, covered with trees, and having the first carpet of verdure that we had yet seen.

On the left we entered the small village of El Mukhalid, to procure some bread and water, as we had yet tasted nothing for the day. The latter was brought to us immediately, but not a morsel of the former could be had without our waiting for it to be made, which would have occasioned too great delay. This village resembled an Egyptian one in the form and construction of its huts, more than any we had yet passed, and was also the poorest we had seen throughout our journey, consisting of not more than ten or fifteen dwellings.

I was surprised that so fine a situation as it commanded should not have been occupied by some larger settlement, as the plains below and at the foot of it are more extensive, more beautiful, and, to all appearance, quite as fertile as those of Accho, of Zabulon, or of Carmel. On going round the village, we found, at its south-west angle, a considerable portion of a large building remaining there, having nearly fifty feet of its side wall, and one perfect end-wall still standing. It was built of well-hewn stones, regularly placed and strongly cemented, and showed equally good masonry with that of the fort at Cæsarea, the style of which it resembled. In one part of the side were seen narrow windows and loop-holes; but whether it was solely a military post, a private

dwelling provided for its own defence, or the only remaining building of some ancient town, we could not decide. The presence of broken pottery, and particularly of the ribbed kind, scattered about in great quantities around the village and at some distance from it, inclined me to the latter opinion.

The situation corresponds very nearly with that of Antipatris, a city built by Herod, and so called after his father, who was named Antipater. This city is described as being seated at the descent of a mountainous country, on the border of a plain named Saronas, terminated by the sea *, which agrees exactly with the local features of Mukhalid. †

Its distance, of five hours and a half, or about seventeen miles, from Cæsarea, agrees with that assigned to Antipatris in the ancient maps; and its direction, of about S. S. E. from that city, makes it lie also in the most direct line toward Jerusalem. As such it is mentioned in the account of Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, when he was brought down under an escort of two hundred soldiers, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, to protect him from the conspiracy which was formed to kill him by the way. ‡

Alexander Jannius, one of the kings of Judea, from a fear of Antiochus Dionysius, the last of the race of the Seleucidæ who was marching against the Arabians, is said to have cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountain, and the shores of Joppa. He also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers to hinder any sudden approach. No traces of these

* D'Anville's *Comp. of Anc. Geog.* p. 402.

† Antipatris, sive Antipatrida, prius Caphasalama, Græcè Caphasarama et Dora dicta, urbs pulchra et amœna, sita in optimo campo divite arboribus et fluminibus. Amne circumfluente ipsum oppidum et luco circumdante pulcherrimarum arborum. Adrich. *Theat. Terr. Sanc.* p. 70.

‡ This name in Arabic مخلد is the participle of تخلص "making perpetual, eternal, immortal, adorning, &c." and would be exceedingly appropriate to a city founded by a prince so ambitious to convey his fame to posterity by architectural monuments, as Herod is said to have been.

‡ "Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris." *Acts of the Apostles*, xxiii. 31.

now remain ; and their disappearance is sufficiently accounted for by the same historian, who soon after says, " But still this Alexander was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army." *

The Roman general Cestius, after marching from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, is said to have removed with his whole army from thence, and marched to Antipatris in the way to Jerusalem. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them. This party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them without engaging ; so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it as well as the villages that lay about it." † As this tower of Aphek was most probably of stone, since the wooden ones are particularly mentioned as such, and as the camp and the villages only are said to have been burnt, the portion of the fortified building which still exists here may be the remains of the identical building.

This same Cestius, after marching from Antipatris to Lydda, and destroying it while all its male population was gone up to the feast of tabernacles at Jerusalem, and proceeding from thence to besiege the holy city itself, was at length obliged to fly, and was pursued by the enraged Jews even as far as Antipatris back again, but effected his escape. ‡

Vespasian also when engaged in prosecuting the Jewish war with increased vigour, from the news of commotions in Gaul and revolutions against Nero in Italy, after wintering at Cæsarea, led his army from thence to Antipatris, in the beginning of the spring, and halted there two days, to settle the affairs of that city, before he resumed his career of desolation, by burning, destroying, and laying waste the cities and villages in his way. §

* Josephus, Jewish War, b. i. c. 4. s. 7. vol. iii. p. 197.

† Ibid. b. ii. c. 19. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 407.

‡ Ibid. b. ii. c. 19. s. 9. vol. iii. p. 413.

§ Ibid. b. iv. c. 8. s. 1. vol. iv. p. 62.

It seems, therefore, to have been an important and well-frequented military station, and as it is said by Josephus to have been formerly called Chabarzaba *, it may probably be the same place with Capharsalama, where a battle had been fought in the reign of Demetrius, between Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bore deadly hate unto Israel, and Judas Maccabeus, the heroic leader of the Jews, when there were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and the rest fled unto the city of David. †

This place had been confounded with Dora, but the distinction between these has been clearly pointed out by Cellarius. ‡ This geographer supposes the one hundred and forty stadia given to the wall with wooden towers and intermediate redoubts erected from Antipatris to Joppa, to be the accurate distance of these places from each other; which, at the usual computation of eight stadia to a Roman mile, would give about nineteen miles, and correspond pretty nearly with the real distance. The same writer assumes, also, that it was in the third night that St. Paul reached this place from Jerusalem; and on our enquiring its actual distance from the holy city, we were told that the journey was performed in three days' easy stages. §

A deep well, enclosed by masonry, and worked by an ox and wheel, lay at the foot of the hill near the town; and from it those spots which now showed verdure had been watered, as this territory, as well as all the sea-coast of Syria, had suffered equally from

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. iii. c. 15. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 274.

† 1 Maccabees, vii. 26—32.

‡ Adrichomius sat confuse: *Antipatris prius Capharsalama, Græcè Capharsalama et Dora dicta*. Unde hauserit, quod Capharsalama, ut in versionibus legitur 1 Mac. vii. 31., sit oppidum Dora equidem nescio. Dora vero et Antipatris Ptolomæo distincta sunt oppida: illud in Pheniçe extrema; hoc in Judea censuit. — Cellarius, Geog. Ant. Samaritis, p. 324.

§ Quantum distet ab Hierosolymis ex Apostolorum historia quodammodo cognosci potest, quia milites, Paulum a tertia noctis Antipatridem deducturi, eadem nocte si non totum iter maximam partem tamen confecerunt. Vide cap. 23—23. 31. Itinerarium Burdigalense, nisi numeri fallunt, qui suspecti sunt, habet 42 M. P. — Cellarius, Geog. Ant. Samaritis, p. 324.

the late long drought, which had continued from October to the present month, excepting only two or three days' fall about a week since. The heavy rains are generally in December, and in January the country is verdant throughout. At this moment, they were only ploughing a hard soil, and tillage was every where retarded.

Departing from this village, we had the plain below it on our left, and at three we entered again on desert ground, covered with sand, wild grass, and bushes. At four, we came to a narrow fertile pass, where we remarked caves and grottoes on each side, as seen before, but could not alight to examine them.

From hence we ascended to an elevated plain, where husbandmen were sowing, and some thousands of starlings covered the ground, as the wild pigeons do in Egypt, laying a heavy contribution on the grain thrown into the furrows, which is not covered by harrowing, as in Europe.

Continuing along this elevated plain, we came at six to the village of Heram, at a short distance from which, on the left, just before entering it, we again saw caves and other marks of excavated dwellings, as at Waad-el-Ajul.

This village, which is seated on a high promontory, overlooking the sea, has not more than forty or fifty dwellings, yet possesses a mosque with a minareh, the approach to which is over a small green plat, with a worn foot-path winding up through its centre, like the entrances to many of our country churches in England.

We passed into the court of the mosque, and, alighting there, found shelter for ourselves and beasts, in a shed erected for the accommodation of travellers, and attached to the building. Our hunger was extreme on arriving here, and we despatched our muleteer to search for food; but he returned, assuring us that some of the villagers had already lain down to sleep, others had finished their suppers, and had nothing eatable in their huts, and others, who possessed flour, would neither part with that nor make us bread. It seemed to me so impossible that a whole village could be thus destitute, that I went out myself, but my success was little

better, as we returned with a few fragments only of stale bread, and a little lamp oil. On the bread alone I made a scanty supper, assisted by a pipe, which is certainly an allayer of hunger; my servant and our guide, boiling some coarse grain which was used as food for the mules, and moistening it with oil, made also a temporary meal, and we were soon after lulled asleep by the roaring of the sea below.



CHAPTER VIII.

BY JOPPA AND RAMLAH TO JERUSALEM.

JANUARY 16th. We were awakened by the day-break call to prayer from the gallery of the mosque above us, and at six o'clock we left our cold and comfortless lodging by the moon-light.

Descending to the beach, we continued along the coast under brown cliffs and hills, and came in about two hours to the outlet of a small river called Nahr-el-Arsoof, which, being shallow, we easily forded. We could not perceive any ruins there, though

D'Anville has placed the site of Apollonias * at the mouth of the stream called Arsoof, and the historians of the Crusades speak of a castle at this place. †.

Keeping still along the sea-shore, we came in half an hour to a little-domed fountain on the brow of the cliff, and observed that the beach beneath was covered with small shells, to the depth of several feet.

We now approached Jaffa, over a desert soil. This town, seated on a promontory, and facing chiefly to the northward, looks like a heap of buildings crowded as closely as possible into a given space; and, from the steepness of its site, these buildings appear in some places to stand one on the other. The most prominent features of the architecture from without, are the flattened domes by which most of the buildings are crowned, and the appearance of arched vaults. There are no light and elegant edifices, no towering minarehs, no imposing fortifications, but all is mean and of a dull and gloomy aspect.

Turning up from the beach a little to the left, we passed through a Mohammedan burying-ground, and came to the great gate in the eastern wall, before which lay six fragments of grey granite columns. The walls and fortifications have a weak and contemptible appearance, compared even with those of Accho; as at that place, the entrance is prepossessing, but its interior disappoints the expectations raised. After passing a gate crowned with three small cupolas, there is seen on the right a gaudy fountain, faced with marble slabs, and decorated with painted devices and Arabic sentences in characters of gold. Passing within, however, the town has all the appearance of a poor village, and every part of it that we saw was of corresponding meanness.

* Apollonia is enumerated among the cities of the sea-coast by Josephus, and the order in which it is mentioned seems to fix it between Cæsarea and Joppa, though its exact distance from either of these is not given. The stream on which it is seated on D'Anville's map is, however, placed farther to the northward of Jaffa than this.

† "Bedreddin a Taberzam, avec d'autres emirs, prirent par l'épée les châteaux de Césarée et d'Arsoof." Voyez, *Les Mines de l'Orient*, tome iii. p. 81. en folio.

It is seated on a hill, and walled all around as far as we could trace, except towards the sea ; the walls are irregular, and weak, and were apparently built at different periods. We saw not more than twelve pieces of cannon mounted, and observed many of the covered arches, intended for musketry, to be filled up with dead horse's bones and other rubbish. The inhabitants here dress like the people of Damietta, wearing a costume intermediate between that of Syria and Egypt; but a still greater poverty seemed to reign throughout all classes.

After ascending and descending hilly streets, we at length reached the house of Signor Damiani, the English Consul, and were received there by his domestics. The consul himself soon arrived, and presented one of the most singular mixtures of European and Asiatic costume that we had yet witnessed. His dress consisted of the long robes of the east, surmounted by a powdered bag-wig, a cocked hat with anchor buttons and black cockade, and a gold-headed cane, all of the oldest fashion. The airs and grimace of his behaviour were that of a French friseur rather than of an old government-officer ; and, indeed, there was nothing about him that seemed consistent with the notions that are generally entertained of consular dignity.

We were shown into a miserable hovel, which was dignified with the name of the British residence, though darker, dirtier, and more wretchedly furnished than the meanest cottage of England. Here, too, we were first consoled by the news that there was a British fleet of eighty sail of the line before Egypt, and that all the consuls of the Levant were flying for safety ; and next assailed with a train of questions which, luckily, were followed up so closely as to leave no intervals for answering them. " Are you a Milord ? " " Are not the Protestants Jews ? If not, are the English entirely without religion, or are they idolaters, unbelievers, or heretics ? " " Is not St. Helena, where Bonaparte is banished, five thousand leagues to the north of England, in the Frozen Sea ? " &c. &c.

As we intended our stay here to be but sufficient to feed our animals, we had given orders that they should be prepared as soon as possible for the prosecution of our journey; and short as the interval was, I employed it in walking about the town and in viewing its port.

The assumed antiquity of this place would be alone sufficient to excite one's curiosity regarding it. It is mentioned by Pliny, being said to have existed before the deluge*, though it has been doubted, whether by the expression "*terrarum inundatione*," the Roman writer meant to imply the universal deluge spoken of in Genesis. Pomponius Mela has a similar expression†, and it is probable, indeed, that the one writer has but repeated what the other had said before; but even this tends to confirm the popularity of the supposition.

The fable of Andromeda, Perseus, and the sea-monster, of which this place is said to have been the scene‡, has been ingeniously explained by supposing that this daughter of the Ethiopian king was courted by the captain of a ship, who attempted to carry her off, but was prevented by the interposition of Perseus, who, returning from the conquest of the Gorgons, saw her, and was captivated by her beauty. One might be perhaps allowed to explain the meaning of "*Antediluvium*" in a similar way, by supposing that it referred to the drowning of this kingdom by Neptune, who sent the sea-monster to ravage the country, because Cassiope, the mother of Andromeda, had boasted herself fairer than Juno and the Nereides.§

* *Joppe Phœnicum antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt. Insidet collem præjacente saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromedæ vestigia ostendunt. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 13.*

† *Est Joppe, ante diluvium, ut ferunt, condita; ubi Cephea regnasse eo signo accolæ adfirmant quod titulum ejus, fratrisque Phinei veteres quædam aræ cum religione plurima retinent. Quin etiam rei celebratæ carminibus ac fabulis, servatæque a Perseo Andromedæ clarum vestigium belluæ marinæ ossa immania ostendunt. Pomp. Mela. l. i. c. 11.*

‡ *Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 759.*

§ See the authorities for this fable collected by Lemprière, under their proper head.

Pliny, it is true, mentions that the skeleton of the huge sea-monster, to which Andromeda was exposed, was brought to Rome by Scaurus, and carefully preserved, and that the marks of the chains, with which this object of Neptune's vengeance was fastened to the rock, were still to be seen in his day. * Pausanias, too, insists that near Joppa was to be seen a fountain, where Perseus washed off the blood with which he had been covered from the wounds received in his combat with the monster, and adds that from this circumstance the water ever afterwards remained of a red colour. †

It is upon other authority that is handed down to us the account of Jonah and the whale, and as this was the port from whence he embarked to flee to Tarsus from the presence of the Lord ‡, the

* Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 371. 8vo.

† Ibid.

‡ There seems to have been some error either in the writer or the copyist of the passage itself in the Scriptures, where it is said, "But Jonah rose up to flee unto *Tarshish* from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to *Tarshish*." Now *Tarshish*, according to the best authorities was a port on the Red Sea, for which it would be a circuitous voyage. In the history of the acts of the kings of Judah, the historian says, "Jehoshaphat made ships of *Tharshish* to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber." (1 Kings, xxii. 48.) "And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to *Tarshish*; and they made the ships in Ezion-geber. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to *Tarshish*." (2 Chronicles, xx. 36, 37.) Now, though Ophir has been placed by some in Arabia, by others in Africa, and by others in India, (see Vincent, Volney, and Bruce,) yet Ezion-geber is fixed by all authorities at the head of the Elanitic Gulf, or eastern fork of the head of the Red Sea. (D'Anville's Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 441. 8vo.) So that *Tarshish* was necessarily somewhere on the east of Africa, unless the circumnavigation of the Cape in this voyage be supposed. Josephus in detailing the same story regarding Jonah, which he professes to have copied accurately as he found it recorded in the Hebrew books, says, that the prophet Jonah finding a ship at Joppa, he went into it, and sailed to *Tarsus in Celicia*. (Ant. Jud. lib. ix. c. 10. 2.) This port was indeed in a sufficiently direct route as a point of debarkation for a journey to Nineveh; and that this was the port understood among the inhabitants of the country itself, may be inferred from the fact of a pillar being shown near to Alexandretta, and not far from *Tarsus*, as marking the spot where, according to tradition, the prophet was vomited up from the whale's belly, and from whence he commenced his journey in a straight line to the threatened city.

profane account of the sea-monster may perhaps have some connection with the sacred one of the large fish that swallowed up the prophet. A late traveller has concluded, from the ribs of forty feet in length, and the other anatomical proportions given of the sea-monster to which Andromeda was exposed, that it was really a whale. It is contended that this is sufficient evidence of there having been whales in this sea, without having recourse to the testimony of the Scriptures, though Mr. Bryant entertained a contrary opinion.* But these conjectures, coupled with the fact of that fish having been from the earliest times an object of worship at Joppa, though it by no means proves the foundation of this city before the deluge described by Moses, as has been assumed, gives the appearance of some affinity between the accounts of the Jews and Gentiles regarding this spot.

Some authors ascribe the origin of Jaffa to Japhet, son of Noah, and thence derive its name, adding, that it was here the patriarch himself went into the ark, and that at the same place were afterwards deposited the bones of this second father of mankind. Andrichomius says that its name of Jaffa was derived from Joppa, its primitive form, which signifies beautiful or agreeable, and is the same with Japho.† Its present name is nearer to this than to any other, it being now called Yafah‡, and it is one among many other instances, of the oldest name outliving all subsequent ones bestowed on places by foreigners and strangers.

The fact of this having been the great port of Judea at a very early period, will hardly be questioned; and we may admit, with-

* See the argument in a note to Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 642.

† Deinde Joppe est Ἰόπη Græce, Ebræis יָפֹה Japho, sita contra extremitatem septentrionalem tribus Dan, cujus terminus erat יָפֹה e regione Japho, quod LXX Græci verterunt πλυσίων Ἰοππης. Hi Ebræum Japho, et alibi Ἰοππη, Joppen, expresserunt. 11 Paralip. ii. 16. Ezræ iii. 7. Jonæ i. 3. ex quo satis certum est, idem oppidum esse Japho et Joppen. Cellarius, Geog. Ant. p. 320.

‡ يَفْع in Arabic, signifies a hill, and يَفْع high places, in the plural; names which are characteristically appropriate to the local features of Yafah under all its changes.

out hesitation, that this was the point at which were collected such of the materials as were brought by sea for the building of the temple of Jerusalem, it being the nearest place at which they could be landed.*

In the wars of the Maccabees, when Judea was a scene of great contention, a deed of treachery is laid to the charge of the men of Joppa, in destroying the innocent with the guilty. This was so completely in the spirit of the early wars that deluged this country with blood, as almost to justify the exemplary vengeance which was taken on their town for such an act. It was burnt and exposed to pillage and massacre by Judas Maccabeus, who called on God the righteous Judge to avenge him on the murderers of his brethren. "The men of Joppe also did such an ungodly deed; they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt; who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing; but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them. When Judas heard of this cruelty done to his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him to make them ready. And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those

* In the correspondence of Hiram with Solomon, regarding the supply of materials for the building of the first temple, the Tyrian king first promises to convey the timber of Lebanon by sea to any place which the Jewish monarch might appoint, and to discharge it there, (1 Kings, v. 9.) In another copy of the same letter, it is said, however, "And we will cut wood out of Lebanon as much as thou shalt need; and we will bring it to thee in flotes by sea to Joppa, and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem." (2 Chron. ii. 16.) In the building of the second temple, it was used for the same purpose. "But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid. They gave money also unto the masons and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia." (Ezra, iii. 7.) The Sidonians also were very ready and willing to bring the cedar trees from Libanus; to bind them together, and to make an united float of them, and bring them to the port of Joppa. For that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius. Jos. Ant. Jud. I. xi. c. 4. 1.

murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew. And when the town was shut up he went backwards, as if he would return to root out all of them of the city of Joppe.” *

About this time Joppe appears as sustaining a siege, and at length falling before the fear of Jonathan the High Priest, who had invested it. It soon after was entered a second time by an officer of Simon, the brother of Jonathan, who had been entrapped at Ptolemais. He had been elected by acclamation to become the captain and leader of the Jews instead of Jonathan, and had sent down a force from Jerusalem, to cast out those who were in Joppe, and to remain therein. †

This place is afterwards enumerated among the cities desired to be restored to the Jews by a decree of the Roman senate, after having been taken from them by Antiochus, as expressed in a letter sent by the ambassadors of the Jews, from Jerusalem to Rome. ‡

It was about this time also peculiarly privileged by a decree of Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and dictator, in being exempted from the yearly tribute which all the other cities of the Jews were obliged to pay for the city Jerusalem. §

The history of this place in the days of the apostles is more familiar to us, and the vision of Peter, who saw a sheet descending from heaven covered with animals clean and unclean, and heard a voice exclaiming, “ Rise, Peter, kill and eat ;” as well as the raising of Tabitha, the female disciple, from the dead, and the

* 2 Macc. xii. 13. A.C. 166. to 161.

† So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing 10,000 men, he went out of the city Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him. And he pitched his tents against Joppe; but they of Joppe shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there. Then Jonathan laid siege unto it, whereupon they of the city let him in for fear; and so Jonathan won Joppe. 1 Maccabees, x. 74. A. C. 161. 144.

‡ Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. s. 2. A. C. 128.

§ Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 10. s. 6. A. C. 45.

reception of the messengers from Cæsarea there, need only be mentioned to be remembered.

The history of the taking of this place from the pirates, by Vespasian, is worthy of being detailed more at length, particularly as the operations strikingly illustrate the local description by which the account of them is accompanied, and which is remarkable for its clearness and fidelity.

“ In the mean time there were gathered together, as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge. And because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phœnicia, and Egypt; and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both foot and horse to Joppa, who entered the city, which was unguarded, in the night time. However, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it. Yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

“ Now Joppa is not naturally a haven; for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other; where there are deep precipices and greater rocks that jut out into the sea; and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks, which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as these people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there, the black

north wind ; and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea. For the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land. Nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them. Nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves ; while they were thrust out of the sea by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city, by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces. And some of the multitude that were in them were covered with the waves, and so perished ; and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords, was a lighter death than by the sea, and so killed themselves before they were drowned. Although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt part of the shore. Insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and floated with dead bodies ; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them. And the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city, without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

“ And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time ; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horse might spoil the country that lay round it, and destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut many to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.” *

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. iii. c. 9. s. 2, 3, 4.

About two centuries after this, it was visited by St. Jerome, who speaks of it under its original name of Japho, which it still retained with very little corruption, when it was held by the Saracens, into whose hands it had fallen during the Syrian war.

It was necessarily a contested point with the crusaders, as the port of debarkation for Jerusalem, and it therefore figures in all the naval operations of their wars. * The Rabbi Benjamin, who has been so often accused of magnifying the numbers of the Jews in all parts of the world, with a view to enhance the importance of his own nation, found here, about this period, only one solitary individual, who was a dyer of linen †; seemingly the most common occupation of the labouring Jews in those days, as that of money-changing is at present.

It was among the number of the early conquests made by the renowned Salah-el-din, who came from his native mountains of Koordistaun to avenge the insults offered by a Frank ‡ to the name of his prophet, and to the cities which had been honoured by containing, the one his cradle, and the other his tomb. § Only three months after the battle of Tiberias, the first city which had fallen before his arms, he had possessed himself of all the sea coast excepting Tyre and Tripoly, and appeared before the walls of Jerusalem itself. ||

* See the details in Hakluyt's Collection.

† *Quinquē ab hinc leucis est Gapha, olim Japho, aliis Joppa dicta ad mare situ; ubi unus tantum Judæus, isque lanæ, inficendæ antifex est.* From Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 372.

‡ Reginald de Chatillon.

§ Mecca and Medina.

|| *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article Salahheddin, vol. iii. p. 176.: and Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 69. p. 146.

“After this, king Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppe, where, by the way betweene Achon and Joppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine, with a great multitude of his Saracens, came fiercely against the king's rereguard, but through God's merciful grace in the same battell, the king's warriors acquitted themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles; and he lost, that same day, many of his nobles and captaines in such sort, (as it was thought), that the Saladine was not put to such confusion forty yeres

In the third crusade, after the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip Augustus of France, the English Richard, Cœur de Lion, led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea coast, and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan.* It was here that he is said to have leaped himself the foremost on the beach, when the castle was relieved by his presence, and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning, and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates, with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge; and we learn, from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career. Well might the historian ask, "Am I writing the history of Orlando, or Amadis?"†

After the last crusade of St. Louis the ninth of France, who expired in his camp before Tunis in Africa, Jaffa fell with the other maritime towns of Syria, under the power of the Mamlouks of Egypt, who first shut up the Franks within their last hold at Acre, and soon after closed by its capture the bloody history of these holy wars.

It was, no doubt, long before it recovered from the repeated shocks which these successive sackings, plunderings, and con-

before, and but one Christian captive, called James Auernus, in that conflict was overthrown.

"From thence king Richard proceeding further, went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the city of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming: Ascalon, the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, thro' all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with king Richard." The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, king of England, into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens. Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 62. 4to.

* Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 69. p. 146.

† Ibid, vol. ix. c. 6. p. 148.

flagrations had given it ; and, indeed, it even seems to have been, only a century or two ago, almost destitute of inhabitants. Moneonys, in 1647, describes the town as having only an old castle, and three caverns hollowed out of the rock; and Thevenot, some years afterwards, says, that the monks of the holy land erected wooden huts before the caverns, but that they were forced to demolish them by the Turks.

Le Bruyn, who travelled in 1675, has given two highly characteristic views of the place in the relation of his voyage, from which it appears even then to have been, as he expresses it, a place of no importance.* Since that period, however, it must have gradually increased; though, in 1776, it again suffered all the horrors of war, having its population, young and old, male and female, barbarously cut to pieces, and a pyramid formed of their bleeding heads as a monument of a monster's victory.†

Its history, since that period, is numbered among the events of our own day; and will be long remembered as giving to the world one of the earliest pledges of Bonaparte's disregard to the fate of his associates in arms, when his own safety could be purchased by their sacrifice.

Jaffa, as it is now seen, is seated on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above its level, having a desert coast to the north and south, the Mediterranean on the west, and fertile plains and gardens behind it on the east.

It is walled around on the south and east, towards the land, and partially so on the north and west towards the sea. There are not more than a thousand habitations in all the town, and the number of three mosques, one Latin convent, and one Greek church, will afford a guide to estimate the relative proportions of these religious bodies to each other.

There is a small fort near the sea on the west, another on the

* Voyage au Levant, p. 249. † Volney's Travels in Syria, vol. i. p. 150. 8vo.

north, and a third near the eastern gate of entrance, mounting in all from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; which, with a force of five hundred horse, and nearly the same number of infantry, would enable the town to be defended by a skilful commander.

The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running north and south before the promontory, leaving a confined and shallow space between these rocks and the town. Here the small trading vessels of the country find shelter from south and west winds, and land their cargoes on narrow wharfs running along before the magazines. When the wind blows strong from the northward, they are obliged to warp out, and seek shelter in the small bay to the north-east of the town, as the sea breaks in here with great violence, and there is not more than three fathoms water in the deepest part of the harbour; so accurately do the local features of the place correspond with those given of it by Josephus. *

Strabo mentions an opinion, that Jerusalem could be seen from hence †; but this has been observed to be impossible, since the hills between these places are actually higher than that on which Jerusalem stands. Josephus says, that from the tower Psephinus, which was elevated to the height of seventy cubits above the third wall, where Titus pitched his own tent, there was seen a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. ‡ The tower Hippicus is described as fourscore cubits in height, and that of Phasaelus as ninety, which latter is said to have resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. §

It has been attempted to explain the passage of Strabo, by supposing that these towers from their great altitude might have been seen from Joppa, and thus, too, the sight of the sea from Psephinus be confirmed. But this last might easily have been

* See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

‡ Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. v. c. 4.

† Strabo, l. xvi.

§ Ibid.

true without the other necessarily following; since, from the great elevation of Jerusalem, the visible horizon to seaward would be extended to a point not only far beyond Joppa, but even beyond the range of vision westerly from thence. The light of the fire occasioned by the conflagration of the Jamnites' fleet in the harbour of Joppa by Judas Maccabeus, might, however, have been easily seen at Jerusalem, as it is said to have been*, from its illuminating the higher parts of the atmosphere in its ascent.

On returning from our excursion around the town and port, we sat down to a dinner of as meagre a kind as could well be prepared in an European manner, and had to drink large potions of the weakest and sourest wines that I had ever yet tasted, even in this country. Here we were unexpectedly joined by a Greek doctor whom I had met at Jedda, on my last voyage from India to Egypt by the Red Sea. This man, rushing suddenly into the room, clasped me round the neck, and, after a profusion of kisses in the fashion of the East, told me that he had just arrived with some pilgrims from Damietta, and begged that we would detain ourselves for him, that he might have the honour of entering Jerusalem with a "Milord Inglese."

I was glad to evade this ill-timed flattery by pressing a subject on which I had determined to make minute enquiry. The fact of Bonaparte's having murdered his prisoners here in cold blood had been doubted, from the mere circumstances of the consul having omitted to mention it, though he had not been once questioned as to the point. This, however, I was resolved to do; and in reply we were assured by this same consul's son, Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

It was related to us, that Bonaparte had issued a decree, order-

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 9.

ing that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea, as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppe had of old practised on the Jews, and which their heroic defender had so amply avenged. *

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 39.



CHAPTER IX.

VISIT TO RAMLAH, AND ENQUIRIES INTO ITS HISTORY.

IT was about four o'clock when we quitted Yafah, on our journey towards Jerusalem ; and, after leaving the gate, we went on through a road bordered on each side by formidable fences of the prickly-pear, within which were gardens filled with orange-trees bending beneath the weight of their yellow fruit.

In about half an hour we halted at an highly ornamented fountain, similar to that within the gate at Yafah. It was probably the same spring which, in the time of Pausanias, was celebrated as

that at which Perseus washed the blood from his wounds ; though the structure around it is purely Turkish. We could answer to the fact of its waters being no longer tinged, however, either from that or any other cause ; since we admired their refreshing coolness and crystal purity, and, after slaking our thirst from their stream, renewed our way, till darkness soon bounded our view on every side.

After about four hours' ride, chiefly across a fine plain, with here and there a gentle ascent, passing several small villages at a little distance on the left by the way, and seeing marks of fertility and cultivation, we approached Ramlah. The town of Lydd, the Lydda of the Scriptures, was on our left within sight, when we entered Ramlah through a road similar to that leading from Jaffa, bordered with fences of prickly-pears, and having an abundance of trees scattered on each side.

We were directed to the convent, for the superior of which the president at Nazareth had given us a letter ; and we were kindly received by the good old friars. We were scarcely entered, before there arrived from Jerusalem two Christian pilgrims, ecclesiastics of Turin, who had left Trieste in the vessel now at Caypha, which was to have brought hither the Prince of Sweden, and all his brother pilgrims, but which could not accommodate them. These ecclesiastics had been at Jerusalem for the last two months, and had spent their Christmas there. They were seemingly devout and sincere, and spoke with enthusiasm of the pleasures of pilgrimage, and of the joy of suffering in the performance of it. Neither of them seemed to be above twenty years of age ; and being full of spirits, their society was extremely agreeable.

17th. After an early breakfast with the pilgrims, who were journeying towards their home, we procured a guide from the convent to direct us in our examination of the town and its environs ; where, as throughout the greater part of Palestine, the ruined portion seemed more extensive than that which was inhabited.

This city appears in the early history of the kings of Israel, as the residence of Samuel. In the account of Saul's malice against David, he is described to have been first saved from his anger by Jonathan hiding him in a cave; again, by slipping aside from a thrust of his javelin; and, lastly, by being let down through a window by Michal his wife, who substituted an image covered with a cloth, lying on a pillow or bolster of goat's hair*, in his place, pretending it to be David lying sick in bed. On this last occasion he is said to have fled to Ramah, where Samuel dwelt. †

It might seem doubtful, however, whether Ramah here meant a *town* or a *district*; the latter being rather probable, from the expression of "Naioth in Ramah," where it is said David was; but it is after his arrival in safety at Ramah, that it is said, "And he and Samuel went and dwelt at Naioth;" which might be interpreted, therefore, as the name of a distinct town.

In the history of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, with which the first book of Samuel commences, he is called a man of Ramathaim-zophim, of Mount Ephraim. ‡ This was the name of a *city*, as it is added, "And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and sacrifice unto the Lord of Hosts in Shiloh." § That this too was the same with Ramah, may be inferred from a subsequent verse, which says, on describing their return from Jerusalem, "And they rose up in the morning early, and worshipped before the Lord, and returned and came to their house to Ramah." ||

* Josephus tells this story of the stratagem of David in another way; saying that his wife put under the bed-clothes a goat's *liver*, which, by its still quivering or leaping in motion, seemed to those who beheld it, like the respirations of an asthmatic person. Whiston says, on the translation of this word by *liver*, instead of a *pillow or bolster of goat's hair*, "Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, *Cebir*; and since the LXX, as well as Josephus, render it the *liver* of the goat; and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those of others; 'tis almost unaccountable that our commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation." Notes to Josephus, vol. i. p. 400. 8vo.

† See the 19th chapter of 1 Samuel, throughout.

‡ 1 Samuel, c. i. ver. 1.

§ Ibid. ver. 3.

|| Ibid. ver. 19.

It continues to be frequently mentioned in the history of Samuel, their son, who was born here, continued to visit it often during his life, and at last ended his days in this place. "And Samuel died, and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah." *

In the history of the Maccabees, it resumes its first name of Ramathaim, in a letter of king Demetrius to his father Lasthenes, of which he sends a copy to his brother Jonathan and the nation of the Jews. "King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting. We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with us, because of their good will toward us. Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Appharema, Lydda, and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the fragments which the king received of them yearly aforetime, out of the fruits of the earth and of trees." †

It has been conceived, that the Ramah of Samuel was nearer to Jerusalem, and between it and Bethlehem; though the data on which that is assumed are at least ambiguous. The earliest authentic notice which I have met with of the Ramah there mentioned, as still bearing the same name, is in Le Bruyn's "*Voyage au Levant*," where that name is given to some insignificant ruins; and this rested only on the tradition of the people of the country, whom he accuses of confounding this Ramah with Ramatha, which was on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. ‡

* 1 Samuel, c. xxv. ver. 1. In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, this Ramah had a synagogue, in which the Jews kept the body of Samuel, who was buried there. Of this Ramah, the learned Reland, who did not conceive it to be the place of Samuel's birth and sepulchre, says, "*Scriptorem antiquiorem qui hujus Ramæ mentionem facit, non novi Bernardo Monacho, qui sacculo nono vixit, et iter instituit in loca sancta anno 870, et in libro de locis sanctis ita ejus meminit: 'Deinde venerunt Alarix: de Alarix in Ramula juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. De Ramula ad Emmaus castellum, de Emmaus ad sanctam civitatem Hierusalem.'*"

† 1 Maccabees, c. xi. ver. 32. *et seq.*

‡ Aux environs de cette tour il y a quantité de grosses pierres, et de vieux fonde-

Pococke, in passing through the same place, saw only some signs of the foundation of a house, and equally doubted of this being the Ramah of the Scriptures. *

Chateaubriand, for the sake of introducing with effect a specimen of Hebrew eloquence, sees lights in the village of † Ramah, though no such village existed; but he says nothing more of it in his way to Bethlehem. And Dr. Clarke, though he notices minutely, not only all that he passed, but all that could be seen from the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, does not even mention any thing regarding the site of Ramah there. ‡

Phocas, a very accurate writer, describes the distance of Ramah from Jerusalem as equal to thirty seven miles §; “and if this be true,” says the writer, from whom this is quoted, “Jaffa is forty-seven miles at the least from Jerusalem,” evidently, therefore, meaning the Ramah in the plain between. This same place is fixed at thirty miles from Jerusalem by Quaresimus ||; and Phocas,

mens de bâtimens qui y ont été autrefois. Les gens du pays disent que ce sont les restes de l'ancienne ville de Rama, dont il est parlé dans Jérémie, xxxi. 15. “Ainsi a dit l'Eternel, Une voix de lamentation et de pleurs très-amer a été ouïe en Rama, Rachel pleurant ses enfans, elle a refusé d'être consolée touchant ses enfans, de ce qu'il n'y en a plus.” Les habitans du pays confondent, mal-à-propos, ce Rama avec Ramatha, qui est sur le chemin de Joppe à Jérusalem, et qu'ils appellent, sans raison, Rama. Chap. lii. p. 284. folio.

* In the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, “we came to a place where there are some signs of the foundation of a house, and near it there are caves and cisterns, which, they say, was the house of Jacob, where Rachel died. Some, though probably without foundation, think that this was Ramah, and others, with as little reason, that it was the house of Keli, the father of Joseph, who was the husband of the Blessed Virgin.” Vol. ii. part i. p. 39.

† We perceived in the mountains, for night had come on, the lights of the village of Ramah. Profound silence reigned around us. It was, doubtless, in such a night as this that Rachel's voice struck the ear. “A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted because they were not.” Here the mothers of Astyanax and Euryalus are outdone; Homer and Virgil must yield the palm of pathos to Jeremiah.—Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 390. 8vo.

‡ Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 18.

§ Ibid. Note, p. 624.

|| “Via à Rama usque ad Jerusalem est triginta circiter milliarium. Eleucid. T. 8 tom. ii. p. 12.

already quoted as an authority for the distance of thirty-seven miles, places Armathem, the city of Samuel, at only six miles, and Ramplex or Ramola at twenty miles, making them decisively distinct places.*

There are unfortunately neither local features nor accurate distances, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus, who copies from them; by which we could determine precisely the place of the Ramah of Samuel, or distinguish it from the many other towns of that name which are said to have existed in Palestine. † Cellarius, who had all the authorities for deciding the question within his reach, evidently considered this Ramah to be the same with that mentioned in the Book of Samuel, and notices the variation of its names in different passages. ‡ Adrichomius may not, therefore, have confounded these, as he is accused of doing, in differing from

* "A sancta civitate Hierusalem, ad sex milliaria, Armathem urbs conspicitur, in qua Samuel magnus ille propheta ortum habuit. Inde post alia septem et amplius milliaria Emmaus, urbs magna, in media valle supereminenti dorso jacet. Sic ad passuum fere viginti millia Ramplexæ (hæc est Ramola, sic leg. Reland) regio effunditur: et templum ingens in eadem, sancti magni martyris Georgii visitur." Phocæ Descrip. Loc. Sanct. apud Leon. Allat. Συμμ. Colon. 1653.

† There seems to have been a place called Ramah, somewhere near both to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem, as in the story of the Levite and his concubine, related in the 19th chap. of Judges, when they were come in the evening near to Jebus, which is Jerusalem, they proposed to pass over to Gibeah, or Ramah, to lodge for the night, rather than enter "*this city of strangers*;" and there were others of the same name, with variations of Ramath, Ramatha, Ramathon, Ramoth, &c. in various parts of Judea. See Reland's *Palestina Illustrata*.

‡ Vicina Lydda fuit Ramah sive Ramathah, nisi hæc forma ex illa est cum *He* locali adfixa: prior occurrit 1 Sam. c. xix. 19—22, posterior in notione termini ad quem, 1 Sam. c. i. 19—22; c. ii. 11; c. xix. 18—22. Eadem dicta Ramathaim-zophim, 1 Sam. c. i. 1. Montibus Ephraim adhærabat, ut ibidem dicitur: ideo alia ab Rama Benjamin, quæ et Saulis vocatur, de qua infra Lxx pluribus locis Ἀρμαθαίμ, Armathæm, tribus syllabis ut in libris est (et inde 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Παμαδέμ,) at 1 Sam. c. xix. 18, 19. εν Παμὰ. Patria Samuelis fuit: qui ed ibi habitavit, c. xv. 34; c. xvi. 13; c. xix. 18. Joseph. lib. v. c. xi. est Παμδα, dicenti de Elkana Samuelis patre, Παμαδὰν πολὺν κατοικῶν Ramatham urbem incolens. Una ex tribus fuit, quæ ex Samaritide detractæ, et contributæ regione Judæ sunt, 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Posteriori ævo dicta fuit Ramula—Guilielmus Tyrius, lib. vii. c. 22. "In vicini (Lyddæ) nobilis civitas est Ramula nomine. Est in via quæ à Joppe fert Hierosolymam."—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. c. xiii. p. 323. 4to.

Phocas*; and though Bethoron and Ramah are said by St. Jerome to have been built by Solomon†; yet, as no earlier authority is given for that opinion, it might have been merely tradition in his time, in a country where all great works are attributed to that monarch‡, and would not, therefore, invalidate the claim to its being the Ramah to which that monarch's father fled.§

Its origin has been similarly ascribed by an Arabic writer to "Suliman Abd-el-Melek," who is said to have built it from the ruins of Lydda, in the vicinity||; but even this may refer only to the same tradition of Solomon, son of David, being its founder, or relate to repairs and augmentations actually made by such a person as the one named.

St. Jerome conceived it to be the Arimathea of the ¶ Scriptures; and Adrichomius, who entertained a similar opinion, traces its various names through all their changes, from Ramathaim and Ramah, as it is called in the Old Testament**, to Ramatha or

* Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 636. Note 7.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 629. Note 1. "Rama et Betheron et reliquæ urbis nobilis à Salomone constructæ parvi viculi demonstrantur." St. Jerome.

‡ "Dans toute la Syrie les Mahométans, comme les Juifs et les Chrétiens, attribuent tous les grands ouvrages à Salomon." — Volney, *Etat. Politique de la Syrie*, vol. ii. p. 134.

§ The learned Reland separated this Ramah of Samuel from the Ramah of the plain, as he says at the word רַמָּה urbs in Benjamin. (Jos. xviii. 25.) *Inter Ramah et Bethel in montanis Ephraim* (Jud. iv. 5. Legitur, Jud. xix. 13.) *Perge ut Gibeæ, vel Ramæ pernoctemus*, unde situs Ramæ illustratur. . . . Aberat 6 miliaria, ab Delia, sive Jerusalem, ad septentrionem contra Bethel. testi Eusebio in *Œnamastico*. . . . *Rama quæ est juxta Gabaa in septimo lapide à Jerosolymis sita*, scribit Hieron. ad. cap. 5. . . . Est porro Rama in Ephraim, ubi Samuel habitavit et sepultus est. — *Palestina Illustrata*, 4to. 1714. p. 963, 964.

|| Urbem hanc idem non antiquam, sed conditam esse scribit. (Abulfeda in *geographia sua manuscripta*) ab Solimanno, filios Abd-el-Melek, vastato urbe Lydda, et aquæductu, cisterna, aliisque rebus ornatam abesse ab urbe Hierosolymitana iter unius diei, Lyddam inde abesse tres parasangas (فراسنجم) versus ortem (في ناحية السرق) at etiam versus septentrionem, ut alii referunt. Reland, tom. ii. p. 959.

¶ Haud procul ab ea (Lydda) Arimathiam viculum Joseph. qui Dominum sepelevit. Hieronymus in *Epitaphio Paulæ*.

** 1 Samuel, as already referred to.

Armatha* the seat of Samuel, as Josephus has it, and to the Arimathea† of the New Testament, and the Ramla of the present day.‡

The oriental geographers speak of this as the metropolis of Palestine§, and every appearance of its ruins even now confirm the opinion of its having been once a considerable city: Its situation, as lying immediately in the high road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, made it necessarily a place of great resort; and from the fruitfulness of the country around it, it must have been equally important as a military station or a depôt for supplies, and as a magazine for the collection of such articles of commerce as were exported from the coast.

In its present state, the town of Ramlah is about the size of Jaffa, in the extent actually occupied: The dwellings of this last, however, are crowded together around the sides of a hill, while those of Ramla are scattered widely over the face of the level plain on which it stands.

The style of building here, is that of high square houses with flattened domes covering them; and some of the terraced roofs are fenced around with raised walls, in which are seen pyramids of hollow earthenware pipes, as if to give air and light without destroying the strength of the wall itself.

On the large mosque we noticed a square tower with pointed arched windows, like many of our country-church steeples in England, differing only from these in being surmounted by an open gallery, and a flat-domed summit. These last, it could be plainly seen, were subsequent additions, and did not harmonize with the tower itself, which was purely Gothic, and, no doubt, a

* Josephus, Index 3. Letter A.

† St. Luke, xxiii. 51.

‡ Vide Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

§ Abulhasen Persa, in geographiæ sua manuscripta, vocat راملاه قصبه فلسطين Ramolam caput Palæstinæ. Liceat enim vocem قصبه ita reddere, quæ metropolin significat, uti jam observavit Golius in notis ad Alferganum, pag. 279. Reb. Pal. Illust. p. 959. 4to. 1714.

Christian work at the period of the crusades. We saw also in other parts of the town, vestiges of Gothic edifices, of a character decidedly different from Saracen architecture, though both of them have the pointed arch in common; but all these were greatly ruined.

The convent of the Latins is large and commodious, though not equal to that of Nazareth. It has a good church, an open court, with a fine spreading orange-tree, and several wells of excellent water in it for their gardens.

The inhabitants are estimated at little more than five thousand persons, of whom about one-third are Christians of the Greek and Catholić communion, and the remaining two-thirds Mohammedans, chiefly Arabs; the men of power and the military only being Turks, and no Jews residing there.

The principal occupation of the people is husbandry, for which the surrounding country is highly favourable; and the staple commodities produced by them are corn, olives, oil, and cotton, with some soap and coarse cloth made in the town.

There are still remains of some noble subterranean cisterns at Ramlah, not inferior either in extent or execution to many of those at Alexandria. They were intended for the same purpose, namely, to serve in time of war as reservoirs of water; and they are, no doubt, those spoken of by the Arabian geographer, as quoted before.

Some writers place here the tomb of St. George the Martyr, the patron saint of our crusading kings *, from whom is descended to us the St. George's ensign, emblazoned with the symbol of the red-cross knights: but neither the fathers of the convent, nor the guide which they had given us, could tell us any thing regarding it.

Equally ignorant were such of the Mohammedans as we ques-

* Deinde venerunt Alarixa; de Alarixa in Ramula, juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii Martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. Bernardus de Locis Sanctis. Anno 870. apud Reland. p. 959.

tioned of the tomb of Lockman the sage, a man as celebrated among them for his wisdom, as St. George is with us for his valour. *

On our return to the convent, we found every thing ready for the prosecution of our journey, and thanking the friars for their hospitality, we mounted our mules, and set forward on our way.

* Le chapitre 31. de l'Alcoran, qui porte le nom de Locman, s'appelle Sourat Lokman. Mahomet y fait parler Dieu, qui dit ces paroles. Lécadatina Locman alheçmat. " Nous avons donné la sagesse à Locman." L'auteur du Tarikh Montekheb écrit que le sépulcre de Locman, se voyoit encore de son temps à Ramlah ou Ramah, petite ville que n'est pas éloignée de Jérusalem." Bib. Orient. tom. 2. p. 485.



CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM RAMLAH, THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS, TO JERUSALEM.

WE left the town of Ramlah through a road again bordered by the prickly-pear, and continued over a fine plain until nine o'clock, when we began to ascend, but gently, over land that was partially cultivated. At ten, we came to rugged hills, and saw on the left, in one or two places, vestiges of old Gothic buildings.

Passing the first range of hills, we came to a long narrow defile, in which we met a number of Mohammedan pilgrims, chiefly Barbary Arabs, returning from Mecca by way of Damascus and

Jerusalem ; there were some few women among them, who were all barefoot and miserably dressed ; and there was only one camel to carry the baggage of the whole party.

From hence we went up a steep ascent, and passing a small building on the left, at noon we reached another similar one, where a caphar, or toll, of sixteen paras was demanded of us.

Still ascending, we reached at length the summit of these hills, from whence we had a view of the extensive plains to the west, through a break in the line of the first range of smaller hills, distinguishing plainly, Ramlah, Lydda, and Jaffah, with a long line of coast on the north and south, and the distant horizon of the west. Stoney and rugged as the hills were here, there were yet patches of ploughed land, and evident marks of care to save every rood fit for cultivation.

Descending now on the eastern brow of these hills, we came at one o'clock to the village of Abu-Gosh, so called from its lord, an Arab chief in great power here. A caphar was again demanded of us by a party of about twenty men, who sat by the way-side armed to enforce it. It was accordingly paid, and soon afterwards the chief himself, a fierce red-bearded man of about forty, coming to accost us, demanded our paper of protection. It was shown to him, and he said, that as he held himself responsible for our safe passage through his territory, which lay between that of the Pasha of Acre and the Pasha of Damascus, he must keep this paper to certify that we had so passed safely through his hands.

In this village we saw the ruins of a Christian church, apparently once a handsome edifice, now used as a stable for oxen. There are here about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Mohammedan ; and though the country around is rocky and hilly in the extreme, it is carefully cultivated, even to the very summit of the hills. Maundrell's observations on this subject are perfectly just*, though the inferences he draws of the ground thus producing

* Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 87. 8vo.

more than if the surface were a level, is erroneous, as proved by Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments on the effect of gravitation on roots. *

The ground is preserved level in steps or stages, by little stone walls, as at Malta and Goza, which give the whole a singular appearance. The hills are all of a white stone, like that of the range of Mount Carmel, enclosing flints, but sparingly, and breaking in horizontal layers of about a foot thick, these again breaking transversely so as to form innumerable square stones. The soil is lighter and of a redder colour than in the plains of Zabulon and Esdraelon; and besides corn and cotton, we saw vines in great plenty, with olive-trees in the vale below.

On reaching the foot of the hill on which the village of Abu-Gosh is situated, we again ascended, and gaining the summit of this second range at two o'clock, we were obliged to dismount, in order to descend a steep and rugged road. Near the bottom of this we drank at a humble fountain, over which was an Arabic inscription; and continuing along a rocky road by the side of a hill, we opened upon the village of Ayn Kareem † on the right, and Kalioon on the left, in the former of which are Christians, in the latter Mohammedans. Both these villages are small, but the valleys near them abound with olive-trees, and the hills are cultivated with labour and care. We met here three peasants at different times, two of whom separately demanded of us, "When will there be rain?" and seemed quite disappointed at our replying, "Allah allim," or "God knows."

Still descending, we found, at the bottom of the valley, the ruins of a building, which the peasants told us was once a Christian edifice. It was of small size, yet constructed of massy blocks, and presented an appearance of considerable strength, but not enough

* See these in his work on Agricultural Chemistry.

† عين كريم literally, the generous or beneficent fountain.

of it remained to enable us to pronounce on its age or character, though, being of rustic masonry, it was probably Roman.*

Passing onward through the bottom of the valley, and turning to the north, we came to the remains of a stone bridge, having an excellent pavement of broad and flat stones over it. The bridge itself was now partly broken, and the bed of the torrent below it was perfectly dry. From hence we perceived caverns in the rock near the village of Kalioon, no doubt the habitations of former ages; and ascending still higher, over a broad but steep and rugged road, we saw, near the summit of the hill, to the north of the village, a grotto entered by a square door-way, evidently artificially hewn.

We still ascended towards the summit of this high range, over a most fatiguing and constantly obstructed path, opening on our left upon a round hollow valley below, with a village, the name of which we could not learn, on the brow of the hill. Reaching the cold and bleak summit of the mountain at four, we saw a convent in an elevated vale on the right, and began to perceive a minareh through some trees, with a small domed building nearer to us. Our road upward from the bridge had shown indistinct vestiges of a paved way, but on the top of the hill, where the road was now flat, the pavement was more decidedly seen, from its being better preserved.

As the sun was hastening fast to decline, we quickened the pace of our weary mules, and riding for about half an hour over the rugged face of this mountain's top, we came at five in sight of Jerusalem, on the western brow of this hill, and now but a little below us.

The appearance of this celebrated city, independently of the feelings and recollections which the approach to it cannot fail to

* Mariti ascribes this structure to some monks or other. For an Italian traveller, the error is a gross one. If the architecture of this edifice be not Hebrew, it is certainly Roman; the junctures, the figure, and the bulk of the stones, leave no doubt on this subject. — Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 384.

awaken, was greatly inferior to my expectations, and had certainly nothing of grandeur or beauty, of stateliness or magnificence, about it. It appeared like a walled town of the third or fourth class, having neither towers, nor domes, nor minarehs within it, in sufficient numbers to give even a character to its impressions on the beholder ; but showing chiefly large flat-roofed buildings, of the most unornamented kind, seated amid rugged hills, on a stoney and forbidding soil, with scarcely a picturesque object in the whole compass of the surrounding view. *

We hastened to the gate, which was in the act of closing as we entered it ; and turning towards the left, and passing through some narrow paved streets, which were unusually clean, we arrived by a circuitous route, at the Latin convent of the Terra Santa, where we alighted at a dark door beneath a covered passage.

On being shown up to the friars, I could not help observing that suspicion seemed to exist among them all, of my being a poor man ; my scanty baggage was eyed with contempt, and twenty questions were asked me in a breath. Fortunately, the kind superior of Nazareth had given me a letter for the procureur generale here, but as it was some time before this could be got at, I was kept waiting the whole of the time in the gallery.

In the mean time, there came two Hanoverians, dirty, ill-

* Dr. Clarke, in approaching Jerusalem from the road of Napolose, says, " We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city exhibited ; instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis ; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries ; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour." He adds, in a note, however, " At the same time it should be confessed, that there is no other point of view where Jerusalem is seen to such advantage." (Vol. ii. p. 524.)

Mr. Browne approached it from Jaffa as we did, and he says, " I must confess the first aspect of Jerusalem did not gratify my expectation. On ascending a hill, distant about three miles, this celebrated city arose to view, seated on an eminence, but surrounded by others of greater height ; and its walls, which remain tolerably perfect, form the chief object in the approach. They are constructed of a reddish stone. As the day was extremely cold, and snow began to fall, the prospect was not so interesting as it might have proved at a more favourable season." (p. 361.)

dressed, and from their manner and appearance vulgar men, who addressed me in French, to know if I was really an Englishman. Next came the Portuguese servant of Mr. Bankes, who was in the neighbourhood, to ask me, in broken English, all the same questions over again, by which time my letter was produced, and sent in to the old superior.

All was instantly changed: the President of Nazareth, I know not why, having warmly recommended me to his holy care and protection, as a "Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo," messengers were sent out to escort me into the hall of reception, where I met a hearty welcome from four or five of the heads of the church in a circular dome-built library. Sweetmeats and cordials were served; I was hailed as "ben venuto" by every voice; and, shabby as my appearance was, the respect which was paid to me could not have been exceeded, even to a prince.

Supper was prepared for me, and I was conducted to the room occupied by Mr. Bankes, in which there were three beds, as this was the best room, and as such was generally appropriated to travellers of distinction. On the doors and windows here, among other names carved with great care, those most familiar to me, were Dr. Shaw, the Barbary traveller; Dr. E. Clarke, 1801, and Captain Culverhouse, his companion; Dr. Wittman; John Gordon, 1804, whose name is everywhere in Egypt; Colonel John Maxwell, and Captain Bramson, my companions from Alexandria to Cairo; Mr. Fiot, whom I knew at Smyrna; and several others, of whom I had often heard as travellers in the East; but I saw neither the names of Maundrell, Sandys, Pococke, nor Browne.

I was visited in the course of the morning by all the friars, in turn, and by the two Hanoverians. These last were both young men, dressed as Europeans, who had come with Mr. Bankes's party from Cairo to this place, across the desert, passing the ruins of Ascalon and Gaza on their way from El Arish to Yaffa. Although travelling without any professed object beyond their own pleasure,

they were both so poor and destitute as to suffer Mr. B. to pay their expences ; and they were here almost without clothes, without servants, and without knowing a word of the language. The friars (not much to their honour), treated them with great contempt, merely on account of their poverty ; for though they affected to despise them, as being Lutherans, and therefore not Christians, that objection was not even raised against me, who was at least as far removed from them by religion as these strangers could be, from an idea that, being an Englishman, I must be rich. They had therefore, put the young Germans into the poorest chamber, and barely permitted their food to be dressed in the common kitchen, instead of feeding them from their own table, which is said to be their practice with poor pilgrims. Besides this, they traduced them when not present, and talked of their forcing them soon to quit the convent ; so that, even in this early stage of our acquaintance, I was almost inclined to rebuke them for their want of Christian charity.

These young men were evidently persons of low origin and confined education, and their manners were decidedly vulgar, though set off by the language in which they spoke ; as French to an English ear generally conveys with it a notion of breeding and politeness. They had visited all the sacred places except the Holy Sepulchre, which could not be entered but by a payment of thirty-three piastres, a sum they confessed themselves unable and unwilling to pay ; yet they constantly assigned their not having seen this, the chief end for which they came to Jerusalem, as the only cause of their further detention. This morning, however, the sepulchre being opened for the Armenian and Greek celebration of the Epiphany, they put on turbans, enveloped themselves in cloaks, and were carried in, amidst the crowd of the poor, for a piastre each ; a triumph which they themselves related to me with an air of self-approbation and delight, and which the friars present all applauded ; declaring that thus to cheat the Turks of their exactions was more than just,—it was meritorious.

These young Germans resembled in age, in person, and in many extravagant features of their minds, their countryman, Dr. Kesler, who died in Jedda, and whom they personally knew. They said they had been six years travelling, though neither of them was twenty-six years of age; but their confined information on local topics, proved at least that they had profited little by so long a tour. Having now completed their visits to all the holy places, they received their patents from the superior of the convent, and determined to seize the opportunity of the return of our mules to go to Accho, there to join the pilgrims of Turin, and embark together with them for Europe.

In their excursions around Jerusalem, and in their walks through the town itself, they had received repeated insults from the children, and from the soldiers, which they dared not resent. As these were entirely drawn upon them by their European dresses, we were advised by all those of the convent not to expose ourselves to a similar fate; so that as it would be indispensably necessary to adopt the dress of the country in prosecuting the remainder of my journey, it appeared more prudent to wait until this could be procured, before we ventured without the walls of the house.

Being in the large room on the terrace usually occupied by travellers, every part of the door of which is crowded with names, from Humphrey Edwin, 1699, to William Turner, 1815, I was suffered to live as best suited my inclination; and, taking a pipe and coffee at day-break, and an early dinner at ten o'clock, I supped on a rice pilaw at sun-set, after which the visits of the friars were again paid, and these occupied the whole of the evening.

These men appeared to me to be much less happy than those at Nazareth or at Ramlah, but at the former place more particularly. Among the whole number of those I had yet seen, were only two Italians, one of whom was a Livornese, and was the spenditore of the convent, and the other, a native of Lucca, cook to the establishment, was recently from Alexandria. The

rest were all Spaniards. Though the offices of the Italians were of the lowest kind, their manners were more like those of men of the world, and their understandings more enlarged than even those Spaniards who were much superior to them in rank. Some of these last were not only inferior to the peasantry of this country in common sense and knowledge, but even to the clowns of our own.

Among the news of Europe, the re-establishment of the Inquisition was spoken of, and all exulted in the hope, that under so wise and pious a king as Ferdinand, the church would again resume its empire, and Christianity flourish. The brightest trait which they could find in his character was, that on any application to him for money to be applied to pious purposes, if the "Convento della Terra Santa" was named, he usually gave double the sum demanded. "Let the Inquisition reign," said they, "and the church will be secure. Let the cross triumph, and the Holy Sepulchre shall soon be redeemed from the hands of infidels by another crusade, in which all our injuries will be avenged."

Instead of the comfort, apparent equality, and cheerfulness, which reigned at Nazareth, and even at Ramlah, all seemed here to stand in fear of each other; gloom and jealousy reigned throughout, and the names of the padre superiore, and of the procuratore generale were as much dreaded as they were respected.

When we talked of the nature of their duties here, every one complained of them as severe in the extreme. The tinkle of the bell for service was heard at almost every hour of the day; and, besides getting up two hours before sunrise to celebrate a mass, they were obliged to leave their beds every night at half-past eleven, for midnight prayers. Nothing was talked of but suffering, and the difficulty of obedience, ardent desires to return to Europe, and a wish to be sent any where, indeed, on the out-stations, rather than to continue at Jerusalem.

Not even in a solitary instance did I hear a word of resignation, or of the joy of suffering for Christ's sake, or the love of persecu-

tion, or of the paradise found in a life of mortification, so often attributed to these men. Either they must think and feel differently in different societies, or be hypocrites in their behaviour and professions; or else those who have reported such things of them must have drawn a picture widely different from the truth.

For myself, I believe the friars to be, in general, sincere, and to display that sincerity whenever they may dare to do so. I am persuaded that they themselves have faith in all the legends which they retail, and that they think their life to be a meritorious one; but as they are still men, they feel sensibly the privations to which they are subject; and all, as far as I could discover, longed to escape from them.

One complained, "I came here for three years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring." Another said, "What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?" A third added, "In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had." While a fourth continued, "And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frate of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short, to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time."

These were almost the literal expressions that escaped from the mouths of my visitors, and that too without a question framed to excite them on my part. They were such as I really did not expect to hear, although they offered to me the best explanation of the jealousy and seeming reserve which I had before remarked to reign here, and of which I had seen nothing in the convents described before.

This being the head-quarters, and the court of the church-

militant on earth, favour and intrigue, no doubt, prevail, and interest becomes necessary to procure the appointments to more agreeable stations, where the duties are less severe, and where the liberty of action is greater.

During my stay at Nazareth, I remember to have met three young friars, one from Damascus, and two from Aleppo, both of them having been ordered there to await their destination from the procuratore generale of Jerusalem. Observing to one of them, who seemed amiable and communicative, that I should be delighted to find his appointment for the Holy City arrive during my stay, so that I might have the pleasure of his company on my way thus far, he replied, "We are all in doubt as to our destinations, but God grant that mine may be for Aleppo;" "And mine also," said another; while the third replied, that "bad as Damascus was for Christians, he would rather remain ten years there, than be condemned to pass five in Jerusalem." I could not then understand the motive of the dislike to the Holy City, and I was unwilling to give offence by asking an explanation; but now it seemed more intelligible to me.

After the picture of Chateaubriand's first descent at Yaffa, where he found a Spanish friar, with a "*cuore limpido e bianco*," who assured him that the life he had led for the last fifty years in the Holy Land was "*un vero paradiso*," I knew not what to think of the confessions which I had this evening heard with my own ears. The zeal of this enthusiastic writer may have carried him very far, but surely not to state a deliberate falsehood; so that the only conclusion at which I could arrive was, that either the characters of the men or the manner in which they lived had changed, or that such happy individuals as Padre Franciscos Munos were extremely rare.*

19th. We were busily engaged, during the whole of the morning, in necessary arrangements for our future journey, and in

* Travels in Palestine, vol. i. p. 364. 8vo.

procuring Turkish clothes from the bazar. This was an affair of greater difficulty than we had at first imagined; the town itself being the residence of a mixed and poor population, is not at all a mart of trade, and consequently its bazars are scantily supplied; so that every thing, even to the necessities of life, are scarce and dear.

Possessing, at the close of the day, an hour of leisure, I employed it in walking on the terrace of the convent, accompanied by one of the Italians, who pointed out to me the most remarkable objects in the environs, while we commanded a view of the city below, and became partly familiarised with its topography. I was led also through the whole of the convent itself, a labyrinth so intricate, and so extensive, that a stranger might well lose himself in it on a first visit.

In the evening, it being one of the days of constant fast, and the supper light and soon dispatched, I had scarcely finished my own before a party of six friars were already assembled in my room. The gloomy conversations of yesterday were again repeated, and additional causes of regret enumerated.

20th. Early this morning, Mr. Bankes returned from an excursion to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, where he had been accompanied by a crowd of Greek pilgrims, and protected by an escort of soldiers. They had visited Rihhah, the supposed site of Jericho, where there are not the slightest remains of high antiquity; and returning by another route, saw some ancient aqueducts, apparently of Roman execution. They had passed a night at a Mohammedan mosque called "Mesjed el Nebbe Moosa," from an idea prevalent among the people of the country, that here was the tomb of Moses, although, when his death is described in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, it is said, "And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."*

* Deut. xxxiv. 6.

Protected as this party was by an escort, and a large company, they were in considerable danger, from falling into the hands of an Arab tribe, who scoured the plains of Jericho, and had even recently committed robberies between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, close to the walls of the latter. The chief, to whom they were conducted, declared himself independent both of the sultan and all his pashas, and boasted that they spared no Christians who fell into their hands. He consented, however, to protect Mr. Banks during his stay in the desert, and to return him in safety to Jerusalem, on condition of his interceding for the release of a boy of their tribe, who was now imprisoned at the latter place for a robbery of some camels committed by the tribe itself. Mr. Banks engaged to use his utmost influence, and on that promise they were all released, while the father of the boy had accompanied them here to await the issue of the negotiation.

We were scarcely met, before a visit was paid to us by an Abyssinian prince, named Moosa, who had left Gondar about two years since, with the sister of the Ras Welleta, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His female charge had died here only a few months since, and he had subsequently by some means become acquainted with the amiable and excellent Lady Hester Stanhope, with whom he had remained some time at her residence near Seyda.

Of this Abyssinian, who was not more than forty years of age, we could learn nothing of Bruce, of whom he had not even heard the name, as "Yakoube el Hakeem." He had seen Mr. Salt, however, at Antalow, and said that he passed in the country for the son of the king of England. He knew also Mr. Coffin, and Mr. Pearce, who were still in Abyssinia. These, he assured us, were admitted to the table and confidence of the Ras, and were looked up to as prodigies of excellence in understanding; although one was a man from the lowest walks of life, and the other a common sailor, who could scarcely read. So much for Abyssinian discernment of character!

This prince, soon after leaving us, returned again, bringing with him a large white glass bottle of rakee, and about a pound of tobacco, as presents, and in return he received a piece of white linen, large enough for a turban, and a pair of English scissars, with which he was pleased.



CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES, CHIEFLY WITHOUT THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

JANUARY 21. We set out from the convent on an excursion round the city, taking with us a Christian guide, and the Janisary of the friars as an escort; and commenced our perambulation at nine o'clock.

After passing through some small and winding streets, we approached the castle, near which we were shown the house of Uriah; and in a piece of ground near it, an old tank, said to be that in which Bathsheba his wife was washing herself, when David

saw and became enamoured of her. In the castle was pointed out to us the very window from which this monarch is said to have been looking out at the time; but when I remarked to our guide that the Scriptures stated it to have been from the roof of the king's house that this woman was beheld *, as well as that the whole of the present building was of modern work, he replied, that he considered the authority of the friars, who had lived here many years, to be of greater weight than any Scriptures, and that if I began to start doubts of this nature in the beginning of our visit to the holy places, there would be an end to all pleasure in the excursion. I therefore bowed assent, and remained silent.

We came next to the castle itself, called by some the Castle of the Pisans, which D'Anville thinks was built on the ruins of the ancient palace of David. It is at present a large fortress, surrounded by a ditch, crowned by battlements, and occupying a considerable space of ground. We could not obtain admission into the interior; but as far as we could perceive, from the outer walls, the whole was comparatively a modern work, of Saracen execution; nothing remaining but some masses of strong masonry in large rough blocks near the foundation, which bore the appearance of higher antiquity, and which seemed like the rustic masonry of the Romans.

Leaving this on the left, we went out of the Bethlehem gate, in the south-west quarter of the city; and going down the hill toward the south-east along the foot of Mount Sion, we had on our right a deep valley, in which were several olive-trees, and on our left the celebrated holy hill on which the walls of the city now stand, although Sion is said to have been nearly in the centre of the ancient Jerusalem. In this valley a large reservoir was seen, which some maintained to be Bathsheba's pool, so that disputes ran high thereon. It was at this moment in a ruinous state, and perfectly dry.

* 2 Samuel, xi. 2.

From the foot of Sion we crossed over the valley of Hinnom, a little beyond this tank, and, turning eastward over the side of the opposite hills, we passed, on our right, a number of caverns and grottoes cut out of the rock. These were all small, and, from their situation, must have been originally within the site of the ancient city, if it is satisfactorily proved to have contracted its limits from the southward. This it is said to have done so much, as to exclude all the southern side of Mount Sion which was in its centre, as well as to have extended its limits to the northward, so as to bring the sepulchre of Jesus and Mount Calvary, which were without the ancient walls, into the centre of the modern city.

Near these grottoes we were shown an old vaulted building in ruins, erected on the spot supposed to have been purchased by the thirty pieces of silver for which Jesus was betrayed. It was formerly so venerated as to change its name from the "Field of Blood," to that of Campo Sancto;" and the Armenians paid to the Turks a rent of one sequin a-day for the privilege of burying their dead there. Close by this we were shown also a small grotto, descended to by steps, and entered by a rude door-way: it was once used by the Greeks for the purpose of interring those of their church who might die here on their pilgrimage. Either from the expence of the heavy rents demanded, or from some change in their opinions as to the propriety of venerating the spot, both parties have discontinued the practice of burying their dead there for the last thirty or forty years.

Still descending to the eastward, we passed a number of small grottoes excavated in the rock, and similar to those before described. In some there were appearances of benches, fire-places, ovens, &c., and, though small and confined, their whole character seemed rather that of humble dwellings than of tombs. We observed some fragments of sculptured ornaments on one of these only, where a frieze of flowers ran along its front, but all the others were plain.

Leaving these grottoes, we descended into the valley of Siloa, by

some included in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running nearly north and south, between Mount Sion and the Mountain of Offence, "the hill that is before Jerusalem, where Solomon built high places for Chemosh and Molech." *

At the southern extreme of this valley, we were shown a well, bearing the name of the prophet Nehemiah, from a belief that the fire of the altar was recovered by him at this place after the Babylonish captivity. † It is narrow, but of considerable depth, and is sunk entirely through a bed of rock. Being lower than any of the wells about Jerusalem, it retains a good supply of water while the others are dry. We found here a party of twelve or fifteen Arabs drawing water in leathern buckets, by cords and pulleys, and from twenty to thirty asses laden with skins of it for the city. On ascending the surrounding work of masonry to drink of this spring, the Mohammedans insisted on our putting off our shoes out of veneration to the place; this was complied with, and after leaving them the usual present of a few paras, we departed.

Turning to the northward, through the valley of Jehoshaphat, we had the village of Siloane on our right, at the foot of the Mountain of Offence; and Mount Sion, on which the city walls stood, still on our left.

We came next to the pool of Siloam, at which the blind man washed off the clay and spittle placed by the Saviour on his eyes, and received his sight. ‡ It is now a dirty little brook, with scarcely any water in it; and even in the rainy season, it is said to be an insignificant muddy stream. The illusion created by Milton's sublime invocation to it, in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*, is entirely done away by the sight of the spot itself.

Going a few paces to the northward, we came to the source of this brook, by some called also the Fountain of the Virgin, from an opinion that she frequently came hither to drink. We descended by two flights of about fifteen steps each, under an arched vault of

* 1 Kings, xi. 7.

† 2 Maccabees, i. 19. et seq.

.. St. Luke, ix. 7.

masonry, to a small pool, containing a little dirty and brackish water. The rock had been hewn down originally to get at this, and a small and crooked passage, of which we saw the beginning only, was said to convey the water out into the valley of Siloa through which we had come up, and to supply the little garden plots there, from which the city of Jerusalem is chiefly furnished with vegetables. Notwithstanding the black and dirty state of the water, and its harsh and brackish nature, it is still used for diseases of the eyes by devout pilgrims.

The village of Siloane, which stands immediately opposite to this, on the east, is built on the steep side of the hill, and contains not more than fifty or sixty dwellings. This is thought to be the hill over against Jerusalem, in which Solomon kept his harem of seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines, when, even in his old age, his heart clave unto these strange women in love, instead of being perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father. *

We saw, on the steep brow of this hill, a great number of excavations; some of the smaller ones of which are now used as habitations, and as places of shelter for cattle. Among them we observed more particularly, an isolated square mass, hewn down out of the solid rock, and, though small, possessing the usual proportions, the full moulding above the frieze, and the deep overhanging cornice, of the Egyptian architecture.

Being still dressed as Franks, we were accompanied by a Janisary and a guide; yet it was not thought altogether safe for us to ascend this hill; although I was extremely desirous of examining more

* Among these seducers of his heart from holier affections, are enumerated the women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. (1 Kings, xi. 1.) For love of these he went after Ashtoreth, and Milcom, and built high places for Chemosh and for Molech. (ver. 5. 7.) Of the strange women who worshipped these gods, the Lord had said unto the children of Israel, "Ye shall not go in unto them, neither shall they come in unto you. Therefore Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord as did David his father." (ver. 6.)

closely this remarkable monument, to see if any of its smaller details might justify the suggestion of its being one of those high places spoken of as built by Solomon to strange gods, and thus partaking of the taste and religious character of the Egyptian edifices, from the daughter of Pharaoh, the principal and most honoured of all his wives. The Janisary murmured and magnified obstacles, and the guide insisted on its not having been the scene of any miracle, which, with all the rest of the party, was a sufficient reason for not turning aside to visit it.

In passing along the foot of this hill, we remarked small flights of steps cut in the rock, and leading from cave to cave, for facilitating the communication between them where the brow of the hill was steepest, exactly similar to those seen among the caves of Kenneri in Salsette.

We now entered that part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, properly so considered by the Jews; it being here a deep ravine between the foot of Mount Moriah as a continuation of Sion on the west, where the temple of Solomon once stood, and on which the eastern front of the city walls now lead along, and the foot of the Mount of Olives on the east, commencing from that part of the same hill described before as the Mountain of Offence.

In the rainy season, this narrow bed is filled by a torrent, which is still called the Brook of Kedron; but it was, at the period of our visit, perfectly dry. This confined space is nearly covered with the grave-stones of Jews, with inscriptions in Hebrew characters; as it is esteemed among them one of the greatest blessings to end their days at Jerusalem, and to obtain a burial in the valley of Jehosaphat. For this purpose, the more devout among them come from distant parts of the world, and it is certain that immense prices are paid by them for the privilege of depositing their bones in this venerated spot. *

* See the general aspect of this Vale of Death, with its ancient and modern sepulchres, in the vignette at the head of this chapter.

Independently of the celebrity of this valley as the scene of other important and interesting events, the prophet Joel had chosen it for the place of a pleading between God and the enemies of the Jews. "For behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land." * Those spiritualising Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, who wrest this passage, like a thousand others of the Scriptures, from a literal to a mystical sense, insist on its applying to the resurrection of the dead on the last great day. From this belief, the modern Jews, whose fathers are thought by some of the most learned to have had no idea of a resurrection or a future state, have their bones deposited in the valley of Jehoshaphat. From the same hope, the Mahommedans have left a stone jutting out of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, for the accommodation of their prophet, who, they insist, is to sit on it here, and call the whole world from below to judgment. † And a late traveller, journeying with the staff of a Christian pilgrim, after summoning up all the images of desolation which the place presents, but without once thinking of the contemptible size of this theatre for so grand a display, says, "One might say that the trumpet of judgment had already sounded, and that the dead were about to rise in the valley of Jehoshaphat." ‡

Passing onward, we came to the monument which is called the Tomb of Zacharias: it is a square mass of rock, hewn down into form, and isolated from the quarry out of which it is cut, by a passage of twelve or fifteen feet wide on three of its sides; the fourth or western front, being open towards the valley and to Mount Moriah, the foot of which is only a few yards distant. This square mass is eight paces in length on each side, and about

* Joel, iii. 1, 2.

† Maundrell, p. 138, 8vo.

‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

twenty feet high in the front, and ten feet high at the back, the hill on which it stands having a steep ascent. It has four semicolumns cut out of the same rock on each of its faces, with a pilaster at each angle, all of a bastard Ionic order, and ornamented in bad taste. The architrave, the full moulding, and the deep overhanging cornice which finishes the square, are all perfectly after the Egyptian manner; and the whole is surmounted by a pyramid, the sloping sides of which rise from the very edges of the square below, and terminate in a finished point. The square of this monument is one solid mass of rock, as well as its semicolumns on each face; but the surmounting pyramid appears to be of masonry: its sides, however, are perfectly smooth, like the coated pyramids of Saecara and Dashour, and not graduated by stages, as the pyramids of Gizeh in Egypt.

Inconsiderable in size, and paltry in its ornaments, this monument is eminently curious, from the mixture of styles which it presents. There is no appearance of an entrance into any part of it; so that it seems, if a tomb, to have been as firmly closed as the Egyptian pyramids themselves; perhaps from the same respect for the inviolability of the repose of the dead. The features before described, gave the whole such a strangely mixed character, that there seemed no other solution of the problem which it offered, than that of supposing the plain square monument, the moulding, the broad cornice, and the pyramid above, to be a work of the Jewish age, as partaking of the style of the country in which their fathers had sojourned so long; and, admitting the bastard Ionic columns and pilasters raised from the mass on each of its sides to have been the ornamental work of a more modern period, added either out of veneration for the monument itself, or on its transfer by dedication to some other purpose. At the present moment it is surrounded by the graves of Jews, and its sides are covered with names inscribed in Hebrew characters, evidently of recent execution.

Close by this, on the north, we came to a cavern called the

Grotto of the Disciples, from an idea that they came frequently hither to be taught by their Divine Master ; although by others it is called the tomb of Jehoshaphat, and is supposed to give its name to the valley below. This is an excavation, the open front of which has two Doric pillars of small size, but of just proportions. Within the first porch is a broad passage, descended into by a few steps, and leading to the right, where it ends at a low door-way, opposite to the northern front of the reputed tomb of Zacharias. Within this cave, in a strait line from the front, is a second chamber, with two others leading from it ; all of them rude and irregular in their form, and appearing to have been ancient habitations, perhaps subsequently ornamented with the two Doric pillars in front. We saw in one of the inner chambers, several Jewish grave-stones, removed from the valley into this place for security. Like all the rest, they were oblong flat blocks, of from three to six inches in thickness, and formed of the rock of the mountain itself, in which these excavations were made, being a yellowish limestone, in some places approaching to a coarse marble.

Going on from hence but a few paces more to the northward, we came to a small bridge of one arch, thrown over the brook of Kedron, and connecting the foot of the Mount of Olives with that of Mount Moriah. It was gravely asserted to us, that Jesus was pushed off this identical bridge, though the present work scarcely seems to be a century old from its appearance, and is not noticed as existing even in the time of Maundrell.* It was added, that this act of violence being committed by the unbelieving Jews, when they were hurrying away their prisoner to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, after all his disciples had forsaken him

* There was a bridge near this spot, and over the brook of Kedron, at an earlier period, however ; as Adrichomius notices it in the description which he has left us of the monuments around Jerusalem : — “ Pons Cedron lapideus uno arco supra torrentum Cedron erectus, quem Helena Imperatrix eo in loco construi fecit, ubi in hunc usum antea lignum illud, ex quo pila Domini crucis facta est, jacuisse dicitur.” *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 171. folio.

and fled, he fell on a large stone below, which yielded to the impression of his feet, and left the marks now pointed out to us as such. If the Jews then on the spot failed to remark this extraordinary softness of the stone, or the hardness of the feet that pressed it, and the Evangelists omitted all mention of the fact in their gospels *, one would have thought, that at this late period, a stranger would be allowed the liberty to attribute the shapeless indentations to some more ordinary cause. Not at all: the very inquiry whether the fact was recorded by the Scriptures or not, was considered an innovation as unorthodox as a scruple about transubstantiation, or any other of the more popular doctrines of the holy church. †

Opposite to this, on the east, we came to the reputed tomb of Absalom; resembling nearly in the size, form, and the decoration of its square base, that of Zacharias, before described; except that it is sculptured with the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order. This is surmounted by a sharp conical dome, of the form used in our modern parasols, having large mouldings resembling rope running round its base, and on the summit something like an imitation of flame. There is here again so strange a mixture of style and ornament, that one knows not to what age to attribute the monument as a whole. The square mass below is solid, and the bastard Ionic columns, which are seen on each of its faces, are half engaged in the rock itself. The dome is of masonry, and on the eastern side there is a square aperture in it. On the whole, the sight of this monument rather confirmed the idea suggested by the supposed tomb of Zacharias; namely, that the hewn mass

* St. Matthew, xxvi. 57.

† These indentations were shown to an old English sailor, commander of a merchant ship, who had left his vessel in the harbour of Alexandria to go up to Jerusalem, more than two hundred years ago; and in a note on the passage by Mr. Henry Timbertake, the writer of the Travels, he says, "The authority for these prints of the elbows of Christ, is not the Scriptures, nor any good author, but the monks and friars that are now in possession, and contrive all means to pick the pockets of the devout and credulous." — Harleian Misc. vol. iii. p. 332.

of solid rock, the surmounting pyramid and dome of masonry, and the sculptured frieze and Ionic columns wrought on the faces of the square below, were the works of different periods, and that possibly they might have been tombs of antiquity, the primitive character of which had been changed by the subsequent addition of foreign ornaments.

It is probable that this monument really occupies the place of that mentioned to have been set up by him whose name it bears. "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the King's Dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called unto this day Absalom's Place." * Josephus, in relating the same circumstance, calls the pillar a marble one; he fixes its distance as two furlongs from Jerusalem, and says it was named "Absalom's Hand." †

Some doubts have existed, whether this valley of Jehoshaphat was the King's Dale here spoken of; but this seems highly probable, as the Valley of Shaveh, which is the King's Dale, where Abram was met by the king of Sodom, and blessed by Melchizedeck, king of Salem, after his defeat and slaughter of the confederated kings ‡, was certainly very near to the city of the Jebusites. The distance of two furlongs from Jerusalem, as given to the situation of the pillar in the King's Dale, would depend on what part of the city it was measured from, but it could not in any case be far from the truth; and the term *marble* may be indefinitely used to imply any fine stone, and that of *pillar*, to express a lofty monument. The entrance in the upper part of the cone leads to a room which is described to be much above the level of the ground on the outside, and to have niches in the sides of § it, which can leave no doubt as to its having been a place of sepulture, more particularly as there are other tombs excavated out of the same rocks close by.

* 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

‡ Genesis, xiv. 17, 18.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 10. s. 3.

§ Pococke, vol. ii. p. 23.

The terms "immense," "prodigious," "enormous," &c.* when applied to these monuments, are certainly misplaced, as their measurements, which are given, will best prove; nor is the assertion, that this last is "altogether very beautiful," any more appropriate. In their dimensions, they are among the smallest of ancient tombs; in design, they are unchaste and barbarous; nor is there any thing of "a marvellous nature in their hewn chambers;" so that it is hardly true that their appearance alone, independently of every other consideration, denotes the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people.†

From hence, we continued our way a little farther to the northward, and arrived at the sepulchre of the Virgin. This has a building over it, with a pretty front, although the sculptured Greek ornaments in marble are not in harmony with the pointed arched door of entrance. It is approached by a paved court, and stands near a raised way, leading from the foot of the Mount of Olives over the brook Kedron. We descended into this grotto by a handsome flight of marble steps, about fifty in number, and of a noble breadth. The entrance into this vaulted cavern is certainly fine; and notwithstanding the paltry lamps, and tawdry ornaments of ostriches' eggs, &c. seen among them, the grand descent, and the lofty arched roof of masonry above, produce an imposing effect. Nearly midway down, are two arched recesses in the sides, that on the right containing the ashes of St. Anna, the mother of Mary, and that on the left the dust of Joseph, her husband.

Reaching the bottom of the stairs, we were shewn, at an altar to the right, the tomb of the Holy Virgin herself, who, not having died at Jerusalem, was miraculously transported hither after her death by the apostles, according to the opinion of certain fathers of the church, whose authority the Christians of Jerusalem would think it presumption to deny. At this moment, it is contended that even the corruptible remains of her mortal corpse are not

* Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 590.

† Ibid. 592.

here ; a resurrection of them having taken place, as the pious Chateaubriand relates. *

At this tomb, which is in the form of a simple bench cased with marble, the Greeks and Armenians say their mass by turns ; close to it there is an humble altar for the Syrians ; and on the left of the grotto, on going down, or opposite to these last described, is an altar of raised earth for the Copts, entirely destitute of furniture, lamps, pictures, or even a covering.

In the time of Chateaubriand, the Turks are said to have had a portion of the grotto, and the tomb of Mary was then in the hands of the catholics. At this moment the Turks have no portion of it, nor could we learn from the keepers of the place that they ever had. The tomb of the Virgin is no longer in the possession of the catholics, having been bought out of their hands by the Greeks and Armenians. These, again, try to rival each other in the costly yet gaudy decorations of their separate altars, as well as to drive each other out, if possible, by intrigues and large payments to the Turks. Both parties, however, look down with sovereign contempt on the poor Syrians and Copts, whose altars are so inferior to their own in glitter and tinsel, but whose hearts, it is to be feared, from all accounts, are still filled with hatred, envy, and all uncharitableness toward their pompous and haughty superiors.

After quitting this sepulchre, we went to an adjoining grotto, thought to have been the scene of Christ's agony and bloody sweat. This is a small and rude cavern, supported by portions of the earth left in excavating it, and has now only two recesses or altars, with some humble crucifixes made from the wood of the olive-tree above. This is said to have been the tree under which Jesus wiped away the drops of blood, after coming out of this cool grotto at night ; for the even was nigh when he sat down to sup-

* " St. Thomas ayant fait ouvrir le cercueil, on n'y trouva plus qu' une robe virginale, simple et pauvre vêtement de cette Reine de gloire que les anges avaient enlevée aux cieux." Vol. ii. p. 361.

per with his apostles.* This cave is in the hands of the catholics; and though containing nothing worth the pains of taking away, is guarded by an iron-plated door, and a lock of such security, that even to remove the piece which covers the large key-hole, a smaller key is used in a preparatory lock attached to the greater one. The man who conducted us through this grotto was very much intoxicated; and all impressions of solemnity having been overcome either by the fumes of wine, or by the habit of showing the place to strangers, he did not scruple to utter the most profane jests on the sublime mystery for which this scene was celebrated.

We went from hence to the spot in which are enclosed eight olive-trees, built up about the roots, and thought to have existed in the time of Jesus, "so that the olives, and olive-stones, and oyl, which they produced, became," as Maundrell quaintly observes, "an excellent commodity in Spain." But the proof which he offers of their not being so ancient as is pretended (notwithstanding the difference of rent spoken of by Chateaubriand,† which proves only that the Turks *think* them to be as old as their conquest of the country) is satisfactory. He says, "Josephus testifies, (lib. vii. de Bellō. Jud. c. xv. and in other places,) that Titus, in his siege of Jerusalem, cut down all the trees within about one hundred furlongs of the city, and that the soldiers were forced to fetch wood so far, for making the mounts when they assaulted the Temple."‡

From hence, the supposed gate of the Temple was pointed out to us, in the eastern wall of the city, it being still blocked up, from a belief among the Turks, that their destruction is to enter there; but the whole of this wall, as well as that which surrounds Jerusalem on the other sides, appeared to me of modern structure; although, if there be any part of the skirts of the city where the

* St. Matthew, xxvi. 20..

† Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

‡ Maundrell's Journey, p. 142.

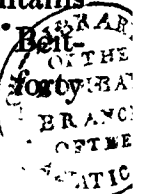
present walls may be thought to occupy the site of the ancient, it is certainly here.

A short distance from this, in the right-hand wall of the road, on ascending the hill, our guide approached a large stone, and kissing it with great fervour of devotion, assured us that it was from hence the Holy Virgin ascended to heaven. As a proof of this new fact, he pointed to a little indentation in the surface, and called it the mark of Our Lady's girdle, which fell from her waist as she mounted in the air. Of the girdle itself, he had never heard the fate; of the authority on which this story rested, he knew nothing, but believed it was in the Gospels; and he was so shocked at our not following the example he had set us, of kissing the holy impression, that he really doubted of our having faith in any thing.

Descending from hence, and turning to the southward, we came to the rock on which it is said the disciples, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, slept, while their master retired to pray. Close by, is a small paved way, now inclosed, being from thirty to forty feet long, and three or four broad, where Judas is said to have betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss; * and not far from hence, is shown the rock from which Jesus predicted the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Here, as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, that conspicuous building must have been full in sight on the Mount Moriah, opposite to him, the brook of Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running between and at the foot of both these celebrated hills.

We crossed from hence over the southern brow of the Mount of Olives, and descending on its eastern side by a rugged and stony road, from which we had a view of part of the Dead Sea, lying deep in a vale, and hemmed in on the east by the high mountains of Arabia, we came, in about half an hour, to the village of Beth Ania, or Bethany. It consists, at present, of only thirty or forty

* St. Luke, xxii. 48.



dwellings, but it is visited on account of a grotto there, which is called the Sepulchre of Lazarus. The building, called the House of Lazarus, is no longer distinguishable, but the supposed place of his interment is still shewn.

We descended into it by a flight of narrow steps, to the number of about twenty-five, and first reached a small square apartment, where there is an altar of earth, on which the Latin friars say mass twice in the year. Below this, on the left, we descended by three or four steps into a vaulted room, about eight or ten feet square, and of sufficient height to admit of our standing upright. This room was arched over with masonry; and the appearance of the whole, from the small door of entrance above, and the steps leading down to the two rooms below, was rather like the portion of some ancient dwelling than of a tomb. As, however, it is situated in Bethany, and the grave of Lazarus is said to have been a cave on which a stone lay,* it may be thought to correspond to the description with much greater accuracy than many of the grottoes shewn about Jerusalem can pretend to. There were at this moment no Turks having an oratory in the place, nor was any thing demanded for our descent. The inhabitants of the village are chiefly Mohammedans, and amount, perhaps, to five or six hundred, for whose accommodation there is a neat little mosque, with a dome surmounted by the crescent.

From hence it took us more than half an hour, and that of the most fatiguing labour, to go out to the eastward, where we were led to see the spot on which Martha, the sister of Lazarus, met Jesus on his way from the desert beyond Jordan, eastward to Bethany.† This spot is now marked by a large stone, in the centre of a circular enclosure of smaller stones; and it was kissed most devoutly by our guide. The place is pointed out, only a few yards off, on which the house of the two sisters stood; but from the story itself, as related by St. John, it would rather appear

* St. John, xi. 38.

† Ibid. 20—30.

that this was in the village of Bethany. With the guardians of the holy places at Jerusalem; however, convenience is often a powerful motive for crowding many sacred spots within a small space, that they may be visited with the greater ease, particularly when nothing but the spot itself is to be shown, and no remains are requisite to prove its identity.

From a part of this eminence, we had a sight of the river Jordan, as well as of the country beyond it. The river winds its course through a deep valley, until it discharges itself into the head of the Dead Sea to the southward, and the eastern view is bounded by an even range of high and woodless mountains, stretching as far as the eye can reach in a north and south direction, and thus cutting off the river and the sea from the wide wastes beyond.*

We now returned toward Jerusalem, and ascending the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, went by the road on which Jesus rode from Bethany and Bethpage into Jerusalem.

It was about two o'clock when we reached the summit of the Mount of Olives, on our return from Bethany. There is a mosque here, with a minareh rising from it, and I was desirous of ascending to its gallery for the sake of the view which it must command, but the keepers became enraged at the very proposal. We entered, however, into the lower court, where a small octagonal building, crowned with a dome, still remains as part of a large church, said to have been formerly erected there. Within this is shown a piece of rock with an impression in it, not much unlike, though far from exactly resembling, the foot of a man. This is maintained to be the print of Christ's left foot, when he ascended to heaven after his resurrection; and it is affirmed, that the print of the right foot was seen here also, but was taken away to ornament the mosque of Solomon, in the site of the Hebrew temple on Mount Moriah, from whence the Mohammedans insist that

* In describing the same view from hence, Benjamin of Tudela, calls the Dead Sea the Sea of Sodom, and the river Jordan the river of Sittim, which went through the plain as far as Mount Nebo. — Bergenon's Collection.

their prophet mounted up to heaven, as if in rivalry to the ascent of Christ. St. Luke is the only evangelist who speaks decidedly of this ascension, the others making the appearance of Jesus to have happened in different places; and this writer says, "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, as he blessed them, that he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."*

The octagonal chapel, containing the relic described, has been ornamented on the outside with small marble pillars and sculptured capitals; but has now nothing within it except this rock, which serves for the altar of the Catholics, who perform mass here once a-year. They enjoy this exclusive privilege by the payment of a large sum to the Turks; and the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Copts, are obliged to content themselves with small altars of stone, for the same purpose, in the open court.

* St. Luke, xxiv. 50, 51.

The quality which rocks formerly possessed, of receiving impressions from the weight of men and of animals, seems to have been almost too general to render it even a rarity. The mark of Adam's foot on the peak of Ceylon, is visited by pilgrims of all classes; and, considering his reputed size, it is scarcely to be wondered at. The impression of the entire figure of Moses, is shown in the granite mountains of Horeb and Sinai, when the rock became soft at the presumption of Moses, in wishing to see the face of God as he passed. The print of the foot of Mohammed's camel, when he was taken up, beast and all, by the angel Gabriel into heaven, is also shown on the same holy mountain; and considering that, according to Mohammedan belief, the animal was large enough to have one foot at Mecca, another on Damascus, a third on Cairo, and a fourth on Mount Sinai, the enormity of his weight might be almost sufficient to account for this also.* At Jerusalem, and in the other parts of the Holy Land, one can scarcely move a hundred yards without seeing marks of fingers, elbows, knees, and toes, as if imprinted in wax. At the two ascents made from hence, the Virgin drops her girdle from her waist, and our Saviour leaves the impression of both his feet. These are now widely separated, but at some future age it will, perhaps, be insisted on that they both occupy their original places. If those blind guides could but perceive the injury which they do to their own cause, by the propagation of such puerile stories, they would surely abandon them to their Mohammedan rivals in aid of their Koran, and suffer the simplicity of the Gospels to stand on its own basis alone.

* See Journal of a Prefetto of Egypt from Cairo to Mount Sinai, translated from the Italian by Lord Bishop Clayton, and attached to the octavo edition of Maundrell's Journey, 1810, p. 245.

We saw here some Armenian visitors, among whom were several women ; these, either from poverty or parsimony, refusing to pay the few paras demanded by the Turks, in whose custody the place remains, a quarrel arose, which approached to blows among the men; while the shrill voices of the women rather increased than quelled the tumult, by the abuse which they lavished on the unbelieving Arabs.

On leaving the summit of this hill, the spot was pointed out to us a little to the northward, where our Saviour taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer * ; and descending the hill to the southward, we passed the ruins of a building which was called the Grotto of the Apostles, from an idea that they compiled their creed there. The cave of St. Pelagia was said to be a little above, in which the Virgin received three days' warning of her death from an angel ; and, in fact, so many places had been already pointed out to us, and so many yet remained to be seen, that I began to be weary of dwelling on the particular details of them, and was glad to stretch my limbs on the grass, and abandon for a moment both the book and the pencil.

Reposing beneath the shade of an olive-tree upon the brow of this hill, we enjoyed from hence a fine prospect of Jerusalem on the opposite one. This city occupies an irregular square of about two miles and a half in circumference. Its shortest apparent side, is that which faces the east, and in this is the supposed gate of the ancient Temple, now closed up for the reason before assigned, and the small projecting stone on which Mohammed is to sit when the world is to be assembled to judgment in the vale below. The southern side is exceedingly irregular, taking quite a zigzag direction ; the southwest extreme being terminated by a mosque built over the supposed sepulchre of David, on the summit of Mount Sion. The form and exact direction of the western and northern walls are not distinctly seen from hence ; but every part

* St. Luke, xi. 1, 2.

of this appears to be a modern work, and executed at the same time. The walls are flanked at irregular distances by square towers, and have battlements running all around on their summits, with loop-holes for arrows or musquetry close to the top. The walls appear to be about fifty feet in height, but are not surrounded by a ditch. The northern wall runs over slightly declining ground; the eastern wall runs straight along the brow of Mount Moriah, with the deep valley of Jehoshaphat below; the southern wall crosses over the summit of the hill assumed as Mount Sion, with the vale of Hinnom at its feet; and the western wall runs along on more level ground, near the summit of the high and stony mountains over which we had first approached the town.

As the city is thus seated on the brow of one large hill, divided by name into several smaller hills, and the whole of these slope gently down towards the east, this view from the Mount of Olives, a position of greater height than that on which the highest part of the city stands, commands nearly the whole of it at once.

On the north, it is bounded by a level, and apparently fertile space, now covered with olive-trees, particularly near the north-east angle. On the south, the steep side of Mount Sion, and the Valley of Hinnom, both show patches of cultivation and little garden enclosures. On the west, the sterile summits of the hills there, barely lift their outlines above the dwellings. And on the east, the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, now at our feet, has some partial spots relieved by trees, though as forbidding in its general aspect as the Vale of Death could ever be desired to be by those who have chosen it for the place of their interment.

Within the walls of the city are seen, to the north, crowded dwellings, remarkable in no respect, except being terraced by flat roofs, and generally built of stone. On the south are some gardens and vineyards, with the long red mosque of Al Sakhara, having two tiers of windows, a sloping roof, and a dark dome at one end, and the mosque of Sion on the Sepulchre of David, in

the same quarter. On the west is seen the high square, castle, and palace of the same monarch, near the Bethlehem Gate. In the centre rise the two cupolas, of unequal form and size; the one blue, and the other white, covering the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Around, in different directions, are seen the minarehs of eight or ten mosques, amid an assemblage of about two thousand dwellings. And on the east is seated the great mosque of Al Harrem, or, as called by Christians, the Mosque of Solomon, from being supposed, with that of Al Sakhara near it, to occupy the site of the ancient temple of that splendid and luxurious king.

This mosque of Al Harrem is an octagonal building, with numerous windows, and surmounted by a dome, of the form of that of St. Paul's, in London, and about half the size. The whole stands in the centre of a large paved square, to which there are several entrances through arcades. Beyond these again is a large open space, surrounding the walls of the inner court, and now displaying a carpet of verdure, interspersed with olive and cypress trees. The appearance of this edifice, with its courts and walls, produces on the whole a most imposing effect, and relieves in a great degree the dull monotony of the rest of the interior view of the city, of which it is by far the most prominent object, from the space which it occupies, and the commanding situation it enjoys.

After having at once reposed and gratified ourselves by a more undisturbed view of Jerusalem than we could have enjoyed from any other spot on our way, we resumed the labour of examining the remaining monuments without the walls. We first visited what are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets, close to the spot where we had halted. We descended through a circular hole, into an excavated cavern of some extent, cut with winding passages, and forming a kind of subterranean labyrinth. The superincumbent mass was supported by portions of the rock left in the form of walls and irregular pillars, apparently once stuccoed; and, from the niches still remaining visible in many places, we had no

doubt of its having been once appropriated to sepulture; but whether any, or which of the prophets were interred here, even tradition does not suggest, beyond the name which it bestows on the place. *

Descending from hence, to go to the western foot of the Mount of Olives, we left, at the distance of a few yards on our right, the spot from whence Jesus is said to have wept over Jerusalem: and continuing our way up the north-eastern brow of Mount Moriah, we came to the northern side of the city itself. Here we pursued our way in a north-westerly direction, through cultivated grounds, abounding in olive-trees; and passed a considerable number of excavations in the rocks, apparently ancient dwellings, and now used as such by the families of peasants, and as places of shelter for their cattle at night. In the course of our way, we did not see fewer than a hundred of these, including large and small, perfect and imperfect; when, after upwards of an hour's walk from the time of our leaving the Mount of Olives, we reached the caves called the Sepulchres of the Judges.

There are in all six of these tombs, into the largest and most accessible of which we entered. It presented first a square court, hewn down on three sides of the rock, in front of the cave. From an outer chamber, entered by a broad door-way, we were led into other smaller chambers by narrow passages of entrance. In these there were arched recesses and benches, as if for receiving the bodies of the dead; and on one side of the innermost chamber we remarked a deep sarcophagus, hollowed out, but still attached to the wall, and now without a lid. Throughout this excavation, we found no appearance either of painting or sculpture.

From hence, we returned towards the city, in a southerly direction, and after traversing the most stony roads that could be

* The observations of Dr. Clarke, regarding this crypt, and the arguments used to prove it originally a place of pagan worship, appear to me judicious; and the use made of the authorities quoted to support the opinion of its being one of the high places built for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom, is equally ingenious.

well passed over, we reached, in half an hour, the tombs of the kings.

We entered, by an arched gate-way, into a large open court, hewn down on all sides out of the rock, to the depth of about fifteen feet, and forming a square of from thirty to forty paces. On the left of the court, on entering, is the portico of a cave, originally supported by columns, but now perfectly open. This portico is about forty feet broad by fifteen feet deep, and from eight to ten feet high, in its present state, the bottom not being visible from accumulated rubbish. The only ornament of sculpture seen on the exterior of this monument, is a frieze, in which the most striking object is a pendant cluster of grapes, frequently repeated, and reminding me of our old Bible prints, representing the return of the spies with such a token from the promised land. Below this again, is another line of sculptured flowers and fruits, in a light and airy style ; but both are much defaced by time, and still more injured by the breaking away of the outer surface of the rock.

The interior of the portico is entirely destitute of ornament ; and instead of passing from it onward through a central door, as is usual, both in the ancient tombs here, and in most of those in Egypt, a small opening, through which it is now necessary to crawl, leads down from the left side, near the corner, to the apartments below. The first room into which we entered by this passage, was about eighteen feet square, nearly filled with rubbish, and having one door-way leading from it on the right, but no corresponding one on the left, and two immediately opposite to the passage of entrance, making in all three doors which communicate with other chambers within. In each of these, were smaller divisions for the reception of the dead, with benches and sarcophagi, niches of a triangular form for lamps above the tombs, and channels below to carry off water. From one of these inner chambers, a flight of steps descended to an apartment below, where was seen the lid of a violated sarcophagus, highly ornamented with sculptured flowers

in relief. In most of these chambers, were also seen fragments of the stone doors which closed the innermost sepulchres. They were of the same stone as the excavation itself, a coarse yellowish marble; and were, in general, about the size of a common door in length and breadth, and three or four inches in thickness. They were pannelled by little mouldings, in two divisions, above and below, exactly in the way in which our modern doors are made in England; and are said, in this particular, to resemble the pair of stone doors still hanging in the Pantheon at Rome.

The whole of this monument, both within and without, displays great care in the execution, and a regularity not often observable in the more ancient excavations of this nature. For myself, I should not conceive it to be of very high antiquity, either from its interior plan, or from its exterior ornaments. The observation of Maundrell, that none of the kings either of Israel or Judah were buried here, is sufficiently well-founded to prevent this being considered as a work of the Jewish monarchy*; and the description of Hezekiah's interment has no local details from which one could safely infer that he was placed in this sepulchre, since the Chronicles say merely, "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, did him honour at his death.†

The reasoning of M. Chateaubriand to prove this monument the tomb of Herod the Tetrarch, appears to me by no means sufficiently borne out by the premises to decide certainly ‡thereon; and even the theories of Pococke §, and Clarke ||, are liable to some objections. Indeed, considering the changes of masters which Jerusalem has suffered, and the consequent variation in the taste of its possessors, it is at this moment a matter of extreme difficulty to separate the monuments of high antiquity from those

* Maundrell, p. 102.

† Vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ 2 Chronicles, xxxii. 33.

§ Ibid, p. 20.

|| Ibid, p. 596.

of a more modern age, or to decide what parts of their remains preserve their original form, and what parts have been subsequently altered or ornamented by later hands. This, however, is certain, that among all the monuments which we had this day visited in the environs of Jerusalem, and of which this is by far the largest, the most expensive, and the most interesting, there is not one which can be called either "enormous" or "splendid," without the strangest abuse of these terms. *

* As a proof that even those who are very pious may entertain contemptible opinions of the extent and riches of the Holy Land, a passage may be given here from an English pilgrim, who visited it about the year 1600. He concludes the account which he has given of the Holy City, with these words: "Thus have I described the city of Jerusalem as it is now built, with all the notable places therein, and near unto the same, and the country about it, by which comparisons you may well understand the situation of most of the places near unto it; and thereby you may perceive that it was but a small country, and a very little plot of ground which the Israelites possessed in the land of Canaan, which, as now, is a very barren country; for that within fifteen miles of Jerusalem, the country is wholly barren, and full of rocks, and stony; and unless it be about the plain of Jericho, I know not any part of the country at this present, that is fruitful." Thus far is a simple declaration of what the pilgrim witnessed. The reasons which he gives for the change, and the proofs which he adduces to show the utterly destitute state of its inhabitants through its barrenness, are too curious to be omitted. He continues: "What hath been in times past, I refer you to the declaration thereof made in the Holy Scriptures. My opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a land that flowed with milk and honey, that then God blessed it, and that as then they followed his commandments; but now, being inhabited by infidels that profane the name of Christ, and live in all filthy and beastly manner, God curseth it, and so it is made barren; for it is so barren, that I could get no bread when I came near unto it; for that one night as I lodged short of Jerusalem, at a place called in the Arabian tongue, Cuda Chenaleb, I sent a Moor to the house (not far from where we had pitched our tents) to get some bread, and he brought me word that there was no bread there to be had, and that the man of that house did never eat bread in all his life, but only dried dates, nor any of his household; whereby you may partly perceive the barrenness of the country at this day, only, as I suppose, by the curse that God layeth upon the same. For that they use the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah very much in that country, whereby the poor Christians who inhabit therein are glad to marry their daughters at twelve years of age unto Christians, lest the Turks should ravish them. And, to conclude, there is not that sin in the world, but it is used there among those infidels that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called Terra Sancta, and, in the Arabian tongue, Cuthea, which is; the Holy Land, bearing the name only, and no more; for all holiness is clean banished from thence by those thieves, filthy Turks, and infidels, that inhabit the same." — Harleian-Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 341.

In almost every part of Upper Egypt, there are grottoes, scarcely visited from their comparative insignificance, which are superior in design, richer in ornament, and costing more labour in execution, than any ancient monument in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The hewing out and transportation of the two obelisks at Alexandria, mere specks amid the numerous and splendid embellishments of Egypt, would have required more time and expence than the excavation of any cavern near this city. The tombs in the mountains at Siout, an inconsiderable settlement, those still more numerous at Eliethias, the grottoes of El Kourno, and, in short, a hundred others that could be named as among the commonest monuments of that country, are all superior to those here. If such be the case, the pyramids of Memphis, the palace of Abydos, the sanctuary of Tentyra, the colossal statues and sphinxes, the tombs and temples of Thebes, and the less-known, but still more beautiful and surprising monuments of Nubia, with the gigantic grottoes of Girshé, Meshgarah, and Ipsamboul, so eclipse in splendour and in size the poor remains which are found around this far-famed capital of Judea, that, on comparing them together, one cannot help applying to the latter the terms of "paltry" and "insignificant." All these ideas of beauty and of greatness, are, however, quite relative: what would be thought "superb" and "magnificent" in one age and country, would be scarcely esteemed in another; and what would be beheld with wonder by one person, a second would regard with indifference.

On quitting these sepulchres of the kings, we continued to approach the city in a southerly direction, and after nearly half an hour's walk, came to an enclosure at the foot of a large quarry, in which is shown a grotto and a recess in the rock, said to have been the bed of the prophet Jeremiah. Within the same enclosure, there is a spot thought to be that on which he wrote his Lamentations over the Holy City. This place is in possession of the Turks, who hold it in extreme veneration; but, as it was shut up, we could only look down into it from above.

It was just sun-set when we reached the Damascus gate, to return to the convent; and having performed the whole of this day's excursion on foot, over the most rocky and rugged roads that could be trodden, besides crawling into all the grottoes we had seen, we were sufficiently fatigued to render repose exceedingly desirable.



CHAPTER XII.

EXCURSION TO BETHLEHEM, AND THE CAVE OF THE NATIVITY.

JANUARY 22. Having procured Turkish dresses for myself and my servant, we to-day put off our European clothes, which were sent to the young Frenchman, whom I had seen in distress at Jaffa ; and after these duties of the morning were passed through, I accompanied Mr. Banks in returning a visit to the Abyssinian prince who had visited us two days before. We found him lodged in the Coptic Convent, which includes an assemblage of small rooms around a large paved court adjoining to the Holy

Sepulchre. In the centre of this, one of the cupolas of the Sepulchre elevated itself above the houses, and on one side of it were the ruined arched recesses of some ancient religious building.

We ascended to one of the upper rooms, through a miserable entrance, and were received in a small apartment possessing no other furniture than a dirty mat and ragged carpet; and having no aperture for the admission of light except the door-way. Being seated on the floor, and surrounded by the Prince Moosa, and five or six Abyssinians of his retinue, we were served with large tumblers of rakhee, some dried figs, and a pipe; a cooking-kettle, placed on a charcoal fire, in an earthen pan, stood in the centre of the room, and occupied the attention of our host in those intervals when conversation failed, and these were pretty frequent, as he himself spoke Arabic but imperfectly, and Mr. Bankes's interpreter, an Italian renégado, still more so.

After a few minutes, the females of the family were sent for; and presently there appeared a young Abyssinian girl, of handsome features, but very dark complexion, attended by two elderly women, who appeared to be her servants or assistants. These all seated themselves, and as the young girl placed herself beside me, and spoke Arabic sufficiently well to make herself understood, we soon became familiar. Some Amharie books of devotion were now shown to us, very finely written on vellum, and adorned with paintings of the evangelists, saints, &c. drawn in the rudest manner, and very gaudily coloured. Then followed some Abyssinian paintings of horses in all their various furniture and trappings, and other pictures, displaying the costume of the country.

While these particularly attracted the attention of Mr. Bankes, as an admirer of the arts, and a lover of new and curious information of every kind, I was somewhat surprised to find the young lady on my left approaching close to me; and presently a pressure of my hand, as it rested on the carpet to support me in leaning forward while looking at the drawings, intimated the wishes and

intentions of the lady. I turned round to observe her, without being noticed, and certain signs still further intimated the desire of a present.

Conversation now grew louder; and, as we had taken with us some trifling articles to offer to these people on our visit, according to the known custom of their country, I gave her a small huswife, furnished with needles, thread, &c., the only article I possessed that was at all adapted to the purpose. It was received with many thanks and kisses of my hand. But this was not all; advantage was taken of the general attention being occupied, to ask me whether I had nothing more that I could bestow. I hesitated, and talked of things at home. A reply was made: "I love you more than I can express; and if you will give me a large present, come hither to-morrow, and you shall be my favourite."

I thought it impossible that I could have rightly understood her meaning; but though repeated a second time in a lower voice, the proposition was still the same. I asked her what she desired. She replied, that she must first see the things I possessed, before she could fix her choice; and altercations followed in whispers, like the bargaining for a contraband commodity in the presence of revenue-officers. It was to me the most satisfactory elucidation of all that had been said on the cupidity and profligacy of female Abyssinian manners.

In the inquisitive conversation which publicly passed among us all, we learnt from Moosa, that he himself was the son of one of the great men at the Court of Gondar; but this seemed extremely doubtful, from his hesitating both as to the name and the titles of his father. He said, that, two years since, he had left Abyssinia in charge of two young ladies, whom he insisted were "Binteen el Wizeer," or two daughters of the prime-minister there. They were accompanied, he said, by five or six men, and the two women whom we now saw; and the object of their voyage was a visit to the Sepulchre of the Messiah, and the holy places at Jerusalem. They intended, as he stated, after completing their pilgrimage at the

ensuing Easter, to return again to Abyssinia, by way of the Red Sea, as they came. Some few months after their arrival at Jerusalem, the elder of the girls had died, and the younger only now remained; the names of the two being Miriam and Martha, names which are common in Abyssinia, from those of the sister favourites of the Saviour.

After a long conversation with this Abyssinian party, and a parting request from the young lady that I would call again on the morrow, we left them, to return to the convent. Passing in our way through a dark passage, under an arched gate, we observed a large court above, on the stairs of which were several good-looking females, who seemed to invite us up to join them. Accordingly, turning back, we all ascended, and were treated with a familiarity which we did not well comprehend, until it was told us that this house had been left as a legacy by some pious Christian to the friars of our convent, and that they suffered it to be occupied rent-free by families, on very improper conditions. This being told us by a Copht, we conceived it to be a scandal, on account of a difference in their faith; but it was confirmed to us by other corroborating testimonies, and we returned to our quarters surprised at the disclosures of the short ramble of to-day.

23d. It being a rainy morning, our departure was put off again, and the former part of the day was passed in examining the drawings which Mr. Banks had made of the monuments in Egypt and Nubia, which were all particularly fine, and, as far as I could recollect, perfectly accurate. He had added to these, also, during his long stay at Jerusalem, plans and views of all the tombs in the neighbourhood, and drawings of other interesting subjects; the whole together forming a collection of at least two hundred in number, and highly valuable.

24th. Some causes still continuing to detain Mr. Banks here, I devoted the day to an excursion on horseback, and set out early in the morning for Beit-Lahhm, the Bethlehem of the Scriptures. We quitted Jerusalem at the gate near the Palace of David, and

passing over the Valley of Hinnom, crossed the hill opposite to Sion on the south, the top of which is slightly cultivated with olive-trees, and some patches of corn land.

From hence we continued our way towards the Convent of St. Elias, which lies at about an hour's distance from the city. It is a Greek sanctuary; and the priests of that order, not to be behind the Latins, who show in so many places the print of the hands, and feet, and toes, and fingers of the Messiah, show here the impression of St. Elias's *whole body* in a hard stone. This rock served him as a couch; but, by yielding to his sacred weight, it became to him, one would think, so like a feather-bed, as to take away all the merit of penance and mortification, which sleeping on a bed of stone would seem to imply.

In the route between Jerusalem and St. Elias, other sacred spots were pointed out; but I was more particularly struck with the appearance of several small and detached square towers in the midst of vine-lands, said by our guide to be used as watch-towers, from which watchmen looked out to guard the produce of the lands themselves, even in the present day. This may explain, I think, the use and intention of that mentioned in the gospel: "A certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a place for the wine-fat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country." *

From the Convent of St. Elias, we descended into the Valley of Rephaim, mentioned by Josephus, and celebrated as the theatre of David's victories over the Philistines. † Like all the country about Jerusalem, it is stony, and scantily furnished with patches of light red soil.

In the way, on the right, at a little distance from the road is shown the reputed tomb of Rachel, which we turned off to enter. This may be near the spot of Rachel's interment, as it is not far from Ephrath, and may correspond well enough with the place

* St. Mark, xii. 1.

† Antiq. Jud. lib. iv. chap. 10.

assigned for her sepulchre by Moses, who says, in describing her death in child-birth of Benjamin, "And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day."* Instead of a pillar, the spot is now covered by a Mohammedan building, resembling in its exterior the tombs of saints and sheikhs in Arabia and Egypt, being small, square, and surmounted by a dome.

We entered it on the south side, by an aperture through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no door-way, and found on the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a narrow passage for walking around it. It is plastered with white stucco on the outer surface, and is sufficiently large and high to enclose within it any ancient pillar that might have been found on the grave of Rachel. This central mass is certainly different from any thing that I have ever observed in Arabian tombs; and it struck me on the spot, as by no means improbable, that its intention might have originally been to enclose either a pillar, or fragment of one, which tradition had pointed out as the pillar of Rachel's grave; and that as the place is held in equal veneration by Jews, by Christians, and by Mohammedans, the last, as lords of the country, might have subsequently built the present structure over it in their own style, and plastered the high square pillar within. Around the interior face of the walls is an arched recess on each side, and over every part of the stucco are written and engraved a profusion of names in Hebrew, Arabic, and Roman characters, the first executed in curious devices, as if a sort of Abracadabra.

After a ride of about two hours nearly in a southern direction,

* Genesis, xxxv. 19, 20.—Benjamin of Tudela describes the tomb of Rachel as being half a league from Bethlehem, built in a cross-way of twelve stones, according to the number of the children of Jacob, and covered by a dome supported by four columns. Upon the stones of this building the Jews who passed wrote their names.

we entered Bethlehem, which is agreeably situated on a rising ground, and has an air of cleanliness and comfort not commonly seen in the villages of the East. Almost the first novelty that struck me on entering the place was, that the Christian inhabitants, from there being scarcely any Mohammedans living near them, wear white and gay-coloured turbans with impunity; whereas in Jerusalem, no Christian, subject to the Porte, dares to wear any other than blue, without risk of losing his head.

This place is among the oldest of those mentioned in the history of the Jews, and that too by the name which it still retains. It was also called Ephrath, which has been interpreted "The Fruitful;" and its name of Bethlehem; in Hebrew, is said to signify "The House of Bread;" though "Beitlahem," as it is pronounced by the Arabs on the spot, is literally the "House of Flesh." It is noticed in the history of Rachel, the daughter of Laban, who died and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Beth-lehem."

In the remarkable story of the Levite and his concubine, related in the Book of Judges, it is called Beth-lehem-Judah, from its being within the limits of that tribe, to distinguish it from Beth-lehem-Zabulon; and Josephus, in telling the same tale, with some variations, says, that this Levite was a man of a vulgar family, who dwelt in Bethlehem, and married a beautiful wife from that town, which was a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. It was also frequently called the city of David, because that monarch, as well as his father Jesse, was born there.

The admirable Eclogue of Ruth has its scene laid in Bethlehem, after the return of the family of Elimilech from the land of Moab, bringing with them from thence this young Moabitess, who became the wife of Boaz, and gave birth to Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David, from whom the Messiah was to come.

Cellarius has industriously collected all the authorities for fixing with accuracy its geographical position, and distance from Jerusalem, which is about six miles in nearly a southerly *direction.

* Cellarius, *Geog. Antiq.* lib. iii. c. 13. p. 342.

As one of the principal sanctuaries of the Holy Land, mention of it occurs in all the pilgrimages of Christians there ; so that little could be said on it that would be perfectly new. Yet this scarcely lessened our natural desire to see such objects as were usually visited.

Being conducted to the convent, we entered by a small wicket through a large iron-cased door, and came into a fine open hall, supported by a double avenue of twenty-four marble columns on each side, of the Corinthian order, making in all forty-eight; in four rows of twelve each. These were two feet six inches in diameter, and eighteen feet in height, and were of chaste execution, and in excellent preservation. This is the nave of the great church built by St. Helena, on the spot where the early Christians had made the sanctuary of the birth-place of their Saviour, and where Hadrian had subsequently placed on its ruins a statue of Adonis.

From hence we were led through the inner parts of the church, now cut off from this fine nave in consequence of the possession of the peculiar sanctuaries being constantly disputed by the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Catholics. No part of the interior is either chaste or handsome, though some portion of the Armenian altars have great richness amid the fantastic profusion of their ornaments.

We were conducted by dark passages to the grottoes below ; among which was that of St. Jerome, who passed the greater part of his life here, and of whom there is a wretched picture, representing him nearly naked, in the act of writing ; that of Santa Paula, and Santa Eustasia, the Roman mother and daughter, descendants of Gracchus and Scipio ; that of the chapel of the Innocents ; of Saint Eusebius of Cremona ; and of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary. In all these, the paintings are of the meanest kind ; but that which represents the Roman mother and daughter in death, has something melancholy and impressive in it.

The principal sanctuary of Bethlehem is the Grotto of the Nativity, the descent to which is by twenty or thirty steps, all below the general level of the church. These lead down narrow and winding passages, so as to render it altogether certain that this never could have been the stable of an inn, without some material alterations in its construction; since, at the present moment, it is difficult even for men to descend into it, and cattle could not do so at all, by any passage that I could perceive. *

Here, however, we were shown a cave, very splendidly ornamented with a marble pavement, recesses decorated with sculpture and painting, and a double row of massy silver lamps of exquisite workmanship, furnished by the patrons of either sect who may share the possession of the altars. Among the paintings, a concert of angels celebrating the birth of Jesus, seemed to possess great merit; though there was something strange to my eye, in observing one of these angels, whose wings were expanded, seated on a cloud with a huge violoncello between his legs, and the bow in his right hand. Another, of the eastern Magi adoring the Infant Saviour, and angels bearing censers of incense, was equally beautiful. Beneath this last is a marble altar, and still below it, a semicircular recess, ornamented at the back with some fine sculpture, on white marble, and hung around with large silver lamps, kept constantly burning. Here is shown, upon the pavement, an inlaid star, which is said to mark the spot of the Saviour's birth, and to lie immediately underneath that point of the heavens where the star of the east became fixed in its course, to direct the wise men to the object of their search. *

The facts of this grotto having been a stable, and the place on which the star is seen, a manger, seem improbable, chiefly from

* Some contend that this was the spot on which the star fell from the firmament, and sunk into the earth; and there was formerly a corresponding place shown between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, where the wise men found the star after it was lost, close to the place where the angel took up Habbakuk by the hair of the head to carry meat to Daniel in the lion's den. — Harleian Misc. vol. iii. p. 334.

- the difficulty of access to it in its present state; but if the means of entrance were formerly more open and enlarged, the subterranean excavation might as easily have been attached to an inn, as to any other kind of building. As such, it might have been occasionally appropriated to the reception of guests, particularly on an occasion like that described by St. Luke, who says of Mary, "And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."

The possession of this spot, once so mean and insignificant, is now disputed by contending sects of Christians, with the same rage and animosity as that which marks their struggle for the command of the Holy Sepulchre. During the last Christmas only, at the celebration of the Feast of the Nativity, at which Mr. Bankes was present, a battle took place, in which several of the combatants were wounded, and others severely beaten; and on the preceding year, the privilege of saying mass at the altar on that particular day, had been fought for at the door of the sanctuary itself, with drawn swords.*

Returning from these grottoes up to the convent, we ascended the terrace, and enjoyed from thence a commanding view of the surrounding country. Among the more interesting objects, were pointed out the tower of St. Paul †, but why so called, I could not

* Dr. Clarke, in speaking of the sanctuary at Bethlehem, says, "The degrading superstitions maintained by all the monkish establishments in the Holy Land, excite pain and disgust. The Turks use the monastery here when they travel this way, as they would a common caravansary, making the church both a dormitory and a tavern, while they remain. Neither is the sanctuary more polluted by the presence of these Moslems, than by a set of men, whose grovelling understandings have sunk so low as to vilify the sacred name of Christianity, by the grossest outrages upon human intellect. In the pavement of the church, a hole, formerly used to carry off water, is exhibited as the place where the star fell, and sunk into the earth; after conducting the Magi to the cave of the nativity. A list of fifty other things of this nature might be added, if either the patience of the author or of the reader were equal to the detail." Vol. ii. p. 622.

† The tower of Edar, as some say, was near this place, where Jacob fed his flock after his return from Mesopotamia, and where Reuben defiled his father's concubine. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 40. "And Israel journeyed and spread his tent beyond the

learn, as it seemed to be a watch-tower in a vineyard, like those already described between Jerusalem and St. Elias. We saw also near this, preserved in a square enclosure, now bearing olive-trees, the field in which the shepherds fed their flocks when the angels announced to them the birth of Christ. A conical hill was also pointed out to us, called the mountain of the Franks, because a party of the crusaders defended themselves on it forty years after the taking of Jerusalem. *

The valleys on the east of Bethlehem, are more fertile and better cultivated than the hills around Jerusalem, and the town itself has an appearance of great activity for a mere agricultural settlement. It is seated on the north-eastern brow of a hill, and is nearly as large as Nazareth, being thought to contain from a thousand to fifteen hundred inhabitants, who are almost wholly Christians. The men are robust and well-made, and the women are among the fairest and handsomest that I had yet seen in Palestine. There is said to be here, as at Jerusalem, an accommodating disposition on the part of the friars towards an establishment for female poor. Several anecdotes were mentioned to me of connivance on the part of husbands, and the questions which I put to some of the members of the convent, rather strengthened than destroyed this opinion, but nothing fell beneath my actual observation. †

tower of Edar; and it came to pass, when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine." Gen. xxxv. 21, 22.

* This place seems to agree with the situation of Beth-haccerem, mentioned by Jeremiah as a proper place for a beacon, when the children of Benjamin were to sound the trumpet in Tekoa, particularly when considering what St. Jerome says on the passage in question: "O ye children of Benjamin, gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem; for evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction." Jeremiah, vi. 1. This hill was laid out in terraces, and had fortifications at the top, with walls and ditches. It was supplied with water by aqueducts from the cisterns of Solomon, and has now ruins of a church and other buildings at its foot. Pococke, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 42.

† Pococke observed in his time, that the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John's, and Nazareth, were worse than any other Christians. "I was informed," says

The superior of the convent had very kindly prepared for me a refreshment of fruit and wine ; and while I partook of it, the same song of lamentation which I had listened to at Jerusalem, was repeated to me here : every one seemed to think that his being sent to the Holy Land was a species of banishment, and every one exclaimed, " When will the happy day come, in which we may hope to return again to Europe ? " I asked them why they did not quit a life which was so full of mortification ? None among them replied, that their sufferings were borne for religion's sake ; but one said that he was poor and without another calling ; a second said, that if his former friends had been alive, his last effort would have been to escape from hence ; and most of them lamented the rigorous exaction of obedience, and the impossibility of quitting the church without danger of excommunication.

he, " that the women of Bethlehem are very good, whereas those at Jerusalem are worse than the men, who are generally better there than at the other places. This may be occasioned by the great converse which the women have there with those of their own sex, who go thither as pilgrims ; and I will not venture to say whether too great a familiarity with those places in which the sacred mysteries of our redemption were acted, may not be a cause to take off from the reverence and awe which they should have for them, and lessen the influence they ought to have on their conduct." vol. ii. pt. i. p. 40.



CHAPTER XIII.

VISIT TO THE CISTERNS OF SOLOMON.

WE left Bethlehem about ten o'clock, and directing our course still to the southward, inclining easterly, through a stony valley, and over the barest and most rugged hills, we came, in about an hour, to the large reservoirs, which are called the Cisterns of Solomon. It is thought that these pools were the work of that king, and that they are the places alluded to by him, when he says, "I made me great works: I builded me houses: I planted me vineyards: I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted

trees in them of all kinds of fruits : I made me pools of water to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees."

Maundrell's description of them is so accurate, that nothing can be added to it. They are seated in a valley, and are three in number, each occupying a different level, and placed in a right line with each other, so that the waters of the one may descend into the next below it. Their figure is quadrangular ; the first, or southern one being about three hundred feet long, the second four hundred, and the third five hundred, the breadth of each being about two hundred feet. They are all lined with masonry, and descended to by narrow flights of steps at one of the corners ; the whole depth when empty, not exceeding twenty or thirty feet. They were, at the present moment, all dry ; but though they may be considered useful works in so barren and destitute a country as Judea, yet they are hardly to be reckoned among the splendid monuments of a luxurious sovereign's wealth or power, since there are many of the Hindoo tanks in Bombay, the works of private individuals, in a mere commercial settlement, which are much more elegant in their design, and more expensive in their construction than any of these. *

Near these reservoirs there are two small fountains, of whose waters we drank and thought them good. These are said to have originally supplied the cisterns, through subterranean aqueducts, but they are now fallen into decay from neglect, and merely serve as a watering-place for cattle, and a washing stream for the females of the neighbouring country.

To the northward of the cisterns, the valley closed in so as to form a narrow ravine at the foot of the two opposite hills, and this is pretended to be the place meant by the enamoured monarch, when he exclaims, "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed;" and to be alluded to also by the spouse who had ravished his heart with one chain of her neck,

* See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

when she replies, "Awake, O! north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden; and eat his pleasant * fruits." Whether these luxurious and enamoured descriptions be not wholly figurative might admit, however, of some question.

We quitted the cisterns about noon, seeing nothing of the aqueduct by which the waters were said to have been conveyed from this place to Jerusalem †, and passed, at a few yards' distance, an old Saracen castle. It is a square building of considerable size, having battlements on its walls, and Arabic inscriptions over its door of entrance. The masonry of this edifice appeared to be of the same age as the lining of the reservoirs themselves; and I was induced to think the whole rather the work of the Mohammedan conquerors of Judea than of the Jewish monarch, who, in constructing gardens and vineyards, and works of magnificence and pleasure, could not have selected a more unfit spot in all the country around his capital, than this stony valley for such a purpose. ‡ The preservation of the water of these fountains, as a work of public utility, and military importance, in a country whose possession was disputed, might, however, have made both the cisterns, and the castle to guard them, a work worthy the attention of the Saracens of a later age. Within this enclosure is now a small village, consisting only of a few Arab families of the Mohammedan faith, who are rather shepherds than cultivators.

* Canticles, iv. 12.; ix. 16.

This place is thought to be the Etham, very pleasant for fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water, mentioned by Josephus as the favourite morning-ride of Solomon the king. The heights above it have been for this reason thought to be the Etam of the Scriptures, to which Samson retired after he had burned the corn of the Philistines (Judges, xv. 8.), particularly as it is said that Rehoboam built Bethlehem, Etam, and Tekoa, this being in the neighbourhood of both these places. Pococke has observed, that an aqueduct from these cisterns to Jerusalem would be useless, as they could always be cut off by an enemy; and regarding the site, as one fit for a house of pleasure, he has remarked, that it is a very bad situation, and there is no prospect from it, but of the dismal hills on the other side. — Pococke, vol. ii. part. i. p. 43.

† Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7. 3.

‡ See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

From hence we returned by another route to within sight of Bethlehem, when we turned off to the westward, on our way to the village of Ain Kareem. Our road was still over a bare and rocky country, in some places almost impassable on horseback; and on our way we passed the village of Beit Jallah, inhabited by Christians. Soon afterwards we came to a spring, in which it is pretended that Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch, who had the charge of Queen Candace's treasure, and was coming from Gaza to Jerusalem to worship. The whole of the country here was such, however, that *chariots* could certainly not travel through it*; nor are there at this moment any visible marks of better roads in ancient days than exist now across those mountains. This spring indeed must always have been distant from the more frequented and great public roads on which the eunuch is represented as travelling.

The country, for some miles before our reaching the village, bore marks of a higher state of cultivation than the lands near Jerusalem; and besides the olive in abundance, we saw large portions of the land appropriated to the culture of vines. There was a part of the road which was called "Belled-el Melhhe," or the country of salt, for which our guide could assign no reason. It was the more remarkable that such a name should be given to it, inasmuch as on this spot were grown all the roses which supplied the sanctuaries and altars both of Jerusalem and of the holy places in its neighbourhood.

We passed also, in the course of our route, the village of Beit Safafa, where the inhabitants consist of both Mohammedans and Christians; but from the ignorance and stupidity of our guide, our road was altogether "a wandering," and not followed in the common track.

Our approach to the village of Ain Kareem, was from the eastward, and over a steep descent, where we were obliged to dismount,

* Acts of the Apostles, viii. 26. et seq.

and go down on foot. We proceeded to the Latin convent of St. Giovanni, which occupies nearly the centre of the town, and here we were well received. After the refreshment of a cup of coffee, we walked on the terrace, to enjoy a more commanding view of the surrounding scenery.

The village is seated in the hollow of a deep valley, and has on all sides some portions of cultivated and garden land. To the north is seen the village of Kalioon, through which we passed on our road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. From thence to this village there is a deep ravine, through which runs the torrent or brook of Elah, giving its name to the valley.* It was here that David is thought to have gathered the pebbles with which he slew the great Goliath, as the valley of Elah was the scene of that event. The village of Kalioon stands on the west, and Ain Kareem on the east of this stream, the bed of which was now dry. Mudden, or Modin, a small town on the summit of the south-western hills, was seen from hence, and pointed out to us as being the spot which contained the tombs of the heroical Maccabees.† The house and grotto of Elizabeth were also shewn to us, on the opposite southern hill, but we did not visit them.

After enjoying the evening air of this delicious climate, beneath the clearest sky, in half an hour's walk upon the terrace, we descended into the convent, which appeared to be superior in comfort

* See 1 Samuel, xvii.

† The magnificence of the sepulchres of these Maccabees may be judged of from the description given of them in the apocryphal books. "Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days. Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover, he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren. And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their army for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day." — Macc. xiii. 25—30.

and arrangement to that of Jerusalem, and equal to that of Nazareth.

The church is one of the most simply beautiful throughout the Holy Land. As the friars here are all Spaniards, it partakes more of the style of that nation than of any other, in its ornaments. It is a small oblong square building, with three aisles, the central one of which is crowned by a dome; and the great altar to which it leads, is adorned by some excellent pictures of the Spanish school. One of these, representing Zacharias, the father of John, in his priestly robes, before the altar, is particularly fine, and many of the others are superior to those generally seen in this country.

In the recess at the end of the aisle on the right hand, is a smaller altar, and near it a large stone, caged in a grating, famed for some miraculous quality, but I could not learn what, as our old conductor mumbled indistinct Spanish, so that I could scarcely understand one word in five of his discourse.

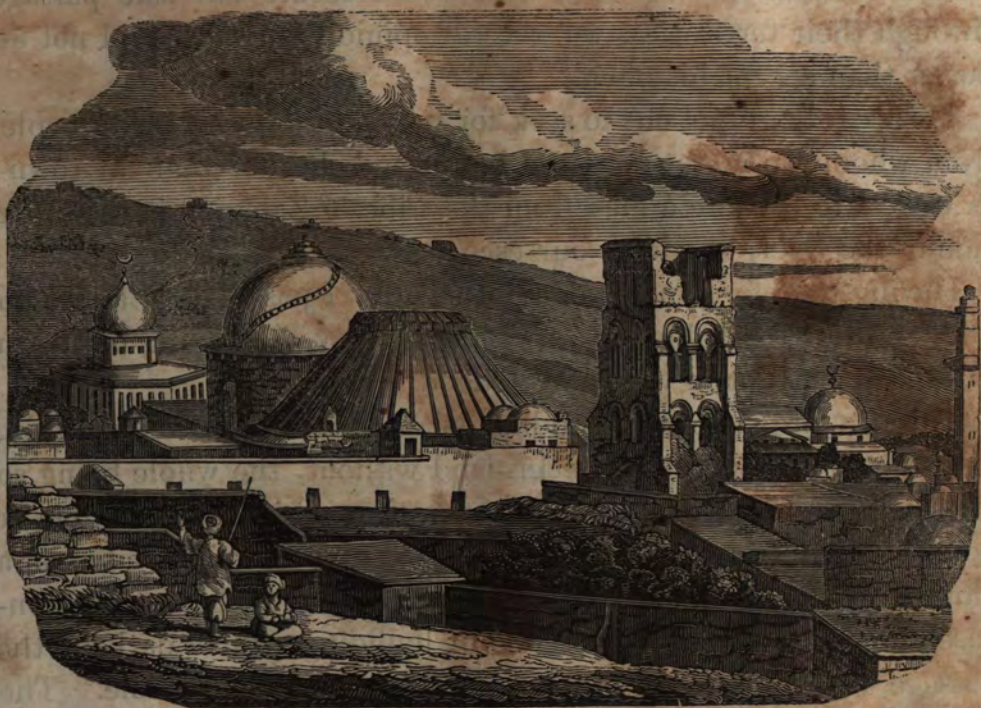
At the end of the aisle, on the left, is the chief sanctuary of the church, being the grotto in which it is thought that Elizabeth was delivered of John the Baptist, to whom the convent is dedicated. The descent to it is by a flight of marble steps, and the walls are hung round with crimson damask. The altar itself is ornamented with beautiful sculpture in white marble; and the general appearance of the recess resembles that of the Grotto of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, being, however, far more beautiful. A fine painting represents the Visitation of Elizabeth, and the whole of the church is illuminated by a profusion of rich and massy silver lamps, producing a chaste yet imposing effect.

The Mosaic pavement of this church is justly admired; and such portions of it as were shewn to us by lifting up the carpets that now covered it, displayed a work of most expensive labour. On the whole, I was more pleased with this village, on account of its situation, the comfort of its convent, and the simplicity of beauty observable in its church, than with any other place that I had yet visited in Palestine.

Leaving this place for Jerusalem, we set out about four o'clock, keeping a north-easterly course, and ascending bare and rugged hills, until we reached their summit in about half an hour, the scenery of the country from every point of view being as uninteresting as could be conceived.

Soon afterwards, we passed on our right the Greek convent of the Holy Cross, a walled building, standing in a little valley, relieved by the presence of olive-trees, and other wood. Maundrell, in assigning the reason of its name and foundation, most satirically says, "It is because that here is the earth, that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber, that made the cross." We did not enter here to be numbered among the "much vyerer stocks than the stump of the tree itself," as he justly calls those who fall down to worship the hole in which it stood, but pushed on with all possible speed; yet, though we reached the gates within five minutes after sun-set, we had the mortification to find them closed.

It now became necessary that the warders should obtain the express permission of the governor himself to open them for us, which, after our waiting about half an hour in the cold air, was granted, by the mere mention of my being an English traveller. As I had never yet personally seen the governor, nor even signified to him my arrival in a formal way, it could only have been from the high consideration which our nation enjoys in the East, that such a favour was thus bestowed on a perfect stranger, without a present of any kind being either given or promised to insure it.



CHAPTER XIV.

EXAMINATION OF THE INTERIOR OF JERUSALEM.

JANUARY 25th. We began to prepare for our departure to-day, but new obstacles arose to retard us. Mr. Banks preferred using hired horses for his journey, but in the present state of discord and agitation throughout the country, no one could be prevailed on to lend us animals for an excursion beyond the mere vicinity of the city.

The Arab, whose son Mr. Banks had released from prison, being well acquainted with the country east of the Jordan, offered

to take us to Tiberias by that route, on condition of our purchasing horses ; and, as he assured us that he could procure men from the Bedouin tribes in the way, who would secure our safe passage through their territories, we were of opinion that we could not do better than accept his offer.

He accordingly set out to seek for horses among his own people, from whom we might get them better and cheaper than in town ; as well as to procure a man from the tribe of Zaliane, on the other side of the river, to add to our escort.

Having therefore another day of leisure, I passed it in a visit to most of the remarkable places within the city, beginning first with the Latin convent in which we lodged.

This is a large irregular building, with courts and galleries within, and some small spaces of garden-land without, the whole being so enclosed, as to form a safe retreat in time of intestine trouble or commotion. It stands near the south-west angle of the city, on a sloping ground, and is entered from a hilly street by a large iron-cased door, beneath an overhanging building, which darkens the passage, and gives an air of mystery and gloom to the whole. The way beyond leads to a small open paved court below, and other still darker passages lead from this on the right to the first flight of stairs. Ascending these, a range of galleries, winding in various directions, leads to the private apartments and domestic offices of the convent ; and courts beyond, and terraces above, afford sufficient space for agreeable walks in the morning and evening, and offer a commanding view of all Jerusalem and the country around.

This edifice is said to be capable of entertaining, commodiously, a hundred persons ; and from what I myself saw of its numerous chambers, I should have thought it might lodge even a larger number. The Superior and Procurator, have each his suite of apartments, conveniently furnished, besides which there is a public room of reception for visitors, which is crowned by a dome, and serves also for the library of the convent.

The friars have their separate rooms, furnished with a bed and

bedding, a table, wash-bason and jug, a lamp, a crucifix, and a chair, all at the expense of the church, to which they add such other conveniences as they may desire from their own funds. As they are of the Franciscan order, they are under a vow of perpetual poverty, and live professedly by alms, so that they can nominally possess no property individually ; but this does not practically prevent their appropriating presents to the purchase of what may be called mere domestic comforts.

The convent of Jerusalem is called, " Il Convento della Terra Santa," by way of distinction, and is at the head of all the religious establishments of the Catholic faith throughout the Holy Land. The Superior is immediately dependent on the Pope, but the inferior members are sent from Naples, from Sicily, and from the south of Spain indiscriminately, being all members of the church of Rome.

The funds of the institution are supplied from that capital chiefly ; but, during the late war, these supplies were interrupted, and they then subsisted on the charitable donations of their flock here. Legacies, however, are frequently left to them by the devout in Europe, and large sums are sent to them by the monarchs of that quarter. The present king of Spain is extolled as being exceedingly liberal, and is said to give always double the amount solicited of him, when its appropriation is to the Terra Santa ; and most of the friars here being of that nation, constantly laud his bounty.

We were somewhat surprised at being informed that the Prince Regent of England had extended his liberality to this long-forgotten land, for the first time, during the last year, when a secretary of our ambassador at Constantinople was sent down to Jerusalem with fifteen hundred pounds to the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, as a present. The secretary's reception, however, was not of the most flattering kind, as they told him that the King of Spain had just before sent them about six thousand pounds sterling ; and although they always treated the English well, on account

of the liberal payment which they were sure to receive from them, yet they never scrupled to say that they were not Christians, calling them either Luthérans, or free-thinkers, or atheists, as might most readily occur, and firmly believing that they had not among them either the Scriptures, the Paternoster, or the Creed.

There are at present in the convent, eighty-eight persons, and these are all fed from the same table. There is therefore a purser, a baker, a cook, a steward, and their respective assistants, as in a large ship. The stated quantity of food is apportioned to every man, and no one can demand more than his allowance. The days of fast are also regularly observed, and all proceeds in established order. The bread, the wine, and the vegetables of the convent are excellent, and these are at all times allowed without restriction. Meat is rather scarce and dear; fish is not generally to be procured; and poultry is used but sparingly. Rice and oil are among the great articles of consumption, and fire-wood is said to be among the dearest of all.

The friars, on coming from Europe, have their passage and travelling expenses paid; and on entering here they must bow implicit obedience to their superior, on pain of excommunication. Their time of service is generally fixed on setting out, either for three, or five, or seven years. When this period has expired, if they desire to return, the superior cannot detain them; but he is not bound to furnish them with the means of going home. If they remain longer than the fixed period, it is at the discretion of the superior; but if he insists on their going back, the full charge of the passage-money by ship must be furnished from the general fund. During their stay here, they all receive an equal portion of food, and are clothed once in two years; their habit being an under garment, and outer cloak of dark brown cloth, with the white knotted cord of St. Francis, to flog themselves into discipline. Medicines are also furnished by the convent when needed, but no money is ever given to any of them, so that if they possess any, it must be from the charities of others.

Attached to the convent are two dragomans or interpreters, from Constantinople, both of whom are Christians; two janissaries or guards, both Mohammedans; an Arab muleteer, a door-keeper, and several inferior servants, all of whom are Arab Christians; and each of these has a fixed salary allowed him.

The whole arrangement within this establishment seems fitted for ultimate economy and long duration. All the apartments, the galleries, the courts, and the terraces, are paved with stone. There are no less than twenty-two wells of excellent water within the walls, and all these are grated with iron at the top, and worked with strong buckets and iron chains fitted to wear for centuries.

The inferior Catholic convents, throughout Palestine and Syria, are subject to this of Jerusalem. They are supplied from its funds, whenever the voluntary contributions of the flock over which they preside fall short; and all appointments and changes of station among the friars throughout the country are entirely directed by the procuratore generale of the Holy City; so that constant intrigues are practised to keep well with this chief, the convent resembling, in this respect, a sort of ecclesiastical court, or the head-quarters of a hierarchical camp.

The mode of life pursued by the friars is a mixture of indolence and exertion, at intervals; and to them it is certainly not a happy one. They generally retire to sleep at eight o'clock, and are obliged to rise again at half-past eleven, to attend the midnight mass. At one they again lie down, and are all stirring at five, the morning-hour of service throughout the Holy Land. Coffee is made for them at this hour; and at ten they take an early dinner, after which they sleep until past noon. Several services are to be attended by some portion of the whole, in stated turns, throughout the day; as the small hand-bell of call is rung through the cloisters at almost every hour. On days of public feasts, every one is obliged to attend; and in the processions of the community to the holy places, nothing but illness can justify absence; so that, on the whole, they are sufficiently occupied.

In such intervals as they possess, however; nothing is done. Not a book is looked into by an individual of the convent; and it will scarcely be believed, that not a map, even of the Holy Land, could be found in their library. They either sun themselves alone in some corner of the court or terrace, or lean over the walls of the galleries to regard what is going on in the courts below.

After sunset they all meet at supper in the common hall. The furniture of this hall is plain, but substantial; the table-linen is coarse, but clean; and the table-service is all of pewter, including even the drinking-vessels. There appeared to me to be less of content or union among them than in any body of men that I had ever seen, who were necessarily compelled to live together; and throughout the whole number, while I remember to have heard more than twenty complain of the curse of banishment to the Holy Land, the privations to which they were subject, and their longing desire to return to Europe, I did not hear from even one of them a single expression of resignation, of the joy of suffering for religion's sake, of that calm acquiescence in the will of God, or of self-congratulation on being so happy as to live and die near their Saviour's tomb, which has been so falsely pictured of them. *

The church of the convent, which was the last object shown to me, is not remarkable either for size or beauty; and its embellish-

* Là vivent des religieux Chrétiens, que rien ne peut forcer à abandonner le tombeau de Jésus-Christ, ni spoliations, ni mauvais traitemens, ni menaces de la mort. Leur cantiques retentissent, nuit et jour, autour du Saint Sépulcre. Dépouillés le matin par un gouverneur Turc, le soir les retrouve au pied du Calvaire, priant au lieu où Jésus-Christ souffrit pour le salut des hommes. Leur front est serein, leur bouche riante. Ils reçoivent l'étranger avec joie. Sans forces, et sans soldats, ils protègent des villages entiers contre l'iniquité. Pressé par le bâton et le sabre, les femmes, les enfans, les troupes, se réfugient dans les cloîtres de ces solitaires. Qui empêche la méchante armée de poursuivre sa proie, et de renverser d'aussi foibles remparts? La charité des moines: ils se privent des dernières ressources de la vie pour racheter leurs supplians, Turcs, Arabes, Grecs, Chrétiens schismatiques; tous se jettent sous la protection de quelques pauvres religieux, qui ne peuvent se défendre eux-mêmes. C'est ici qu'il faut reconnoître, avec Bossuet, "que les mains levées vers le ciel enfoncez plus de bataillons que de mains armées de javelots." *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, cinquième partie, tome ii. p. 178.

ments are rather mean than splendid, though it is considered to be the principal church in Palestine. It is furnished with a sufficient number of gaudy altars, gilded candlesticks, censers, images, flowers, and pictures, to inspire devotion in those who constantly attend it; and it has a fine altar, and an organ, played on with tolerable skill by one of their members.

On quitting the Latin convent, we went to the Greek church, which is situated on the left of the street leading to the Bethlehem gate. We descended to it by steps, so that it is partly subterranean; but it is so small and mean, that I could not conceive it to be the best place of worship of that sect here, until I learned that the Greeks bestowed all their wealth in the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre, and the other sanctuaries which they possessed in places consecrated by some sacred event, and that this, as merely a church, was consequently neglected.

From hence we passed by the house of Uriah, the pool of Bethesda, and the palace of David; in the street beyond which was shown the place, said to be that at which Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, after his resurrection, when he cried to them, "All hail!" and they held him by the feet and worshipped him.*

Continuing through this street, which is bounded on the right by the southern wall of the city, and is the cleanest, most spacious, and altogether the best in Jerusalem, we reached the Armenian convent on our left. We entered here, and found Turkish guards seated at the door, who took our pistols from us before we went in, and who were evidently placed there as police-officers to preserve order. There was an air of neatness and comfort about this convent which was superior to any thing I had seen throughout the city; and the tranquillity, the cleanliness, and the cheerful aspect of the place, seemed to be all in harmony with each other.

This convent, with its church and gardens, occupies the whole

* St. Matthew, xxviii. 9.

of that part of the supposed Mount Sion which is within the city, the southern walls going directly across its summit, and consequently excluding at least one half of it. The establishment is spacious, and well provided with every comfort for the accommodation of pilgrims, as the Armenians are compelled to receive and maintain all the worshippers of their sect during their stay in Jerusalem, which is not the case with any other of the Christian churches. The funds of this convent, though there are neither rich public bodies, nor devout sovereign princes to contribute to them, are said to be superior to all others here, and every thing belonging to their establishment confirms the report; so that their devotees must be more wealthy, or their adherents more numerous, or the rich traders of their nation more devout, than those of the European Christians, to support such funds.

The church itself, is said to be built on the spot where James, the brother of John, was killed by the sword, when Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church.* We entered it by passing through an open paved court, and the general effect of a first view, was as gorgeous and imposing as could be imagined. The church, though small, is of a lofty height, and crowned by a central dome, and being entirely free of pews or stalls of any description, looks considerably larger than it really is. The walls are every where covered with pictures, executed in the worst taste; yet, from the mere profusion of their numbers, and the gaiety of their colouring, they produce on the whole an agreeable effect. The pillars, both of the church and the offices of the sacristy, as well as the portals of the door leading to it, and the inner walls, are all cased with porcelain tiles, painted in blue, with crosses and other sacred devices. The Mosaic pavement is the most beautiful of its kind, and appeared to me to be of better execution than that at the convent of St. John at Aïn Kareem, or even the great church of the knights at Malta. The whole is

* Acts of the Apostles, xiii: 1, 2.

carefully covered with rich Turkey carpets, excepting only a small space before the great altar.

In a small recess on the left, is shown the sanctuary of St. James, thought to be on the spot on which he was beheaded; and this is ornamented with sculpture in white marble, with massy silver lamps, and gilding, and painting, producing altogether a surprising richness of effect. The door which leads to this, is, however, still more beautiful, and is composed entirely of tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, gold, and silver, all so exquisitely inlaid and intermixed with each other, that one knows not whether most to admire the costliness of the materials, or the surprising skill of the workmanship.

The three altars which front the door of entrance, and stand at the northern end of the church, are all as splendid as wealth and profusion could make them. Their loftiness alone produces the most imposing impression; and the massy vessels, and crosses, and mitres, and candlesticks of gold and silver, with here and there the introduction of flowers, and gems, and precious stones, remind one of the splendour of Hiram and Solomon, in the building and furniture of the great Temple, which was dedicated to the God of Israel not far from this same spot.

Quitting the church, we pursued our course eastward through this street, which, from the quiet and cleanliness observed in it, as well as its spacious breadth, seemed rather like the unfrequented court of some great building, than a public thoroughfare. In our way, we were shown the supposed house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high-priest, where Peter tremblingly denied to the damsel who kept the door, all knowledge of Him unto whom he had sworn to remain faithful, even to imprisonment and * death.

From thence, we passed out of the Sion gate, and came upon the southern brow of the mount, where is a burying-ground of the Catholics, with many of their tombs bearing Latin inscriptions,

* Luke, xxii. 33., and John, xviii. 17.

and other tombs of the Armenians with inscriptions in their character and language. The house of Caiaphas, the high priest, was pointed out on a spot where a chapel of the Armenians stood in Maundrell's time; but our guide, who was a sufficiently zealous Catholic to hate this sect, told us he knew nothing of such a chapel now. He seemed delighted, too, in denying the fact of their possessing here the stone that secured the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, although the same author mentions it, and says, "This stone was a long time kept in the church of the sepulchre, but the Armenians, not long since, stole it from thence by a stratagem, and conveyed it to this place." * This house was now closed, so that we could not enter it, any more, than the mosque which stands close by on the ground where Christ instituted his last supper. We were shown also the well at which the Apostles divided to go abroad and preach the Gospel; the place of the Virgin's death; the spot where a Jew obstructed her corpse on its way to the grave, for which his hand was instantly withered; and the grotto in which Peter wept for having denied his master; all fixed on as good tradition as a thousand other scenes of inferior events here.

I was particularly anxious to find the large vaults "built of huge firm stone, and sustained with tall pillars, consisting each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter," as described by Maundrell. † With his accustomed minuteness of detail, he gives their situation so accurately, that we could not well have missed them in our search, and they would have been highly interesting monuments of the Jewish age, if, as he supposes, they were constructed to enlarge the area of the Temple, as mentioned by Josephus ‡; more particularly, as nothing indisputably of Hebrew workmanship is elsewhere found throughout all the city or its environs. But our guide, after finding that his arguments of their insignificance, founded on the idea that nothing sacred had been

* Maundrell, p. 134.

† Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 135. 8vo.

‡ Ant. Jud. lib. xv. c. ult.

done there, were not sufficient to destroy our wish of seeing them, at last flatly insisted that no such place existed, and, compelled as we were to follow his *ipse-dixit*, or lose him altogether by an affront, we were obliged to yield to his superior judgment.

Continuing along by the walls toward the south-east angle of the city, we observed several immensely large stones, used in the masonry, one of which measured twenty feet in length by eight in depth, and was, no doubt, of a corresponding thickness. If any part of the original wall of Jerusalem remains, which is highly uncertain, it would seem to be in the foundations here; first, as the wall itself just excludes the valley of Jehoshaphat, which was always without the city; and next, as it extends beyond the site of the great Temple of Solomon, which was originally within it. It is not impossible, however, that from the ruins, both of the old walls, and of the Temple itself, these large blocks might have been preserved, and worked into the more modern enclosure of the Saracens on the spot.*

We returned from hence by the way that we came, observing the walls to be from forty to fifty feet high in their extreme, but more frequently thirty, and no where a hundred, as stated by Chateaubriand. We re-entered the city at the Sion gate, which is arched, and has an Arabic inscription over it, and turning down a little on the right, we came into the quarter of the town inhabited by the Jews. We met here a number of that nation, conversing always in Hebrew. There was an appearance of poverty, and a seeming love of concealment, in the seclusion of their humble dwellings; and they themselves were marked by the same pecu-

* Benjamin of Tudela tells a long story of some labourers, who were going to repair the wall of Sion by order of the Patriarch there, as it had lately fallen down, and that they discovered the sepulchre of the House of David, with this king, as well as Solomon, and others of the Chiefs of Israel and Judah, in great state; but a sudden burst of wind, and a voice heard to warn them to be gone, so alarmed them, that they fled, and were confined afterwards to their bed with the fright. The place was then closed, and for ever afterwards forbidden to be violated, as the voice of heaven seemed to command it to be respected and hallowed. — Bergeron's Collection.

liarities of dress and feature as all the other Jews that I had seen throughout the East.

From hence we turned into the bazars, which were narrow, dark, and crowded. They had been originally well built in right lines, and were also well paved below, and arched over with stone roofs, leaving square apertures for the admission of light and air from above. Their arrangement into shops and benches resembled those of Cairo; but the whole bore marks of neglect and decay, though they appeared to be well furnished with most of the necessaries of life.

We at length reached the gate of entrance to the great mosque of Solomon, which is said to occupy the site of the Jewish temple; but, being known as Christians, we were not suffered to enter it. Its appearance from without has been already described, as viewed from the Mount of Olives; and it loses nothing of its grandeur or beauty by a nearer approach. The spacious paved courts, the flights of steps and surrounding arcades, the dark tall cypress-trees and running fountains, and the large octagonal body of the mosque, with its surmounting dome, produce altogether the finest effect, and increase the desire to enter its forbidden walls. It is said to contain some columns of the precious marbles within, but we could obtain no account of its interior to be depended on. The details which Chateaubriand has collected from the writers which he cites are highly interesting, and his observations apparently well-founded and just.

From the great mosque of Solomon, or from its outer gate, beyond which we dared not enter, and to which our guide accompanied us with reluctance, we were taken to the palace of Pilate. It is now a Turkish residence, and stands near to the way in which Christ was led from thence to Calvary, to be crucified. Here was pointed out to us the spot on which Pilate presented Jesus to the people, declaring he could find no guilt in him; the place on which he fainted under the weight of the cross, and where his virgin mother swooned also at the sight; the spot where St. Veronica

gave him her handkerchief to wipe his forehead ; and, lastly, where the soldiers compelled Simon of Cyrene to bear his cross. No one among the whole of these places has any particular monument to mark it ; but all of them are carefully preserved by tradition, and by being constantly shown to pilgrims.

We were by this time close to the holy sepulchre, which had not been opened for several days, so that I had yet possessed no opportunity of entering it. Having intimated to our guide all that I had heard of the female establishment of the friars here, which was now close by, he at first denied the fact of its being of the nature represented : by persisting, however, in the accuracy of my information, he at length relented into an admission of its possibility ; and by the further influence of three piastres secretly put into his hand, he winked assent, and whispered to me that if I was desirous of it, he would conduct me thither. It was now near the evening, and my wish to get at the truth of this singular state of society, determined me to pursue this matter somewhat further : we accordingly went to the house, and while Gabriel, for that was my guardian angel's name, remained in the court below, I ascended the flight of winding-stairs which led from the dark street to an open upper court, and from thence again went by another flight to the gallery above, from which the private chambers led off. I was here met by an elderly man, of about fifty, who addressed me in Arabic, and I answered him that I was the English traveller, who, but a few days since, had called in company with my companion as we came from the Coptic convent. A door was instantly opened, and I was shown into a room where were mattresses and cushions on the floor, and some little children playing. Presently afterwards there appeared a woman of about thirty, the mother of these children, and the wife of the man who first received me, and who, having named her to me as " Sitte Tereza," retired. The children were also removed on various pretences made to them, the door was closed, and we were perfectly alone.

All at once, a loud knocking interrupted the scene : the cunning

Tereza exclaimed, "Min hoo?" (who is there?) and, placing her fingers on her lips, implied an injunction of silence. No reply was made; but a second knocking occasioned the door to be opened, and behold my Abyssinian friend, Moosa, appeared, stuttering with rage, and scarcely able to contain his anger. I begged him to sit down. Tereza was still more polite, and said, "My dear Sir, wont you take a glass of rakhee, or a pipe, or coffee?" The man replied, surlily, that he could not stay, insisted that he wanted me on urgent business, and declared that he would not stir from the door without taking me with him. I rose and followed him, when he chid me for the folly of the risk that I had exposed myself to. It appeared that, passing by below, he had seen Gabrielli at the door, and suspected me to be within, though this fellow insisted that he knew nothing of the man for whom he enquired.

Moosa, according to his own account, had come up to rescue me from the threatening danger. He then assured me that the system here, to all who were not members of the convent to which the house belonged, was to detain the stranger in the room as long as possible; and that, in the mean time, the husband, or the brother, or some male friend concerned, personated a Turkish soldier by a change of dress, and pretending to have discovered a Christian violating the law, insisted upon the immediate payment of a large sum, or a watch, or some other equivalent, to bribe him to silence; so that the adventurer was sure of being fleeced of all he might possess about his person, and be drawn in, perhaps, for promises of more to purchase his escape, while the courtesan and her colleagues divided the spoil.

I had heard before of similar things being done by Turks in Constantinople, but could scarcely credit its existence here, under the circumstances related. Moosa insisted on the fact, and Gabrielli did not pretend to deny it, though he gave no active assent; for dissatisfaction at discovery had made him silent. What I myself witnessed, however, I have faithfully related; and what I myself heard I too firmly believed.

On our way to the convent, Moosa informed me that he was going to set out instantly for Jaffa, that Lady Hester Stanhope had sent for him with all possible urgency, and that he was impatient to be gone. As a last injunction, he bade me be kind to his charge, but conjured me never to set my foot again within the door of this brothel of the Catholic monks.



CHAPTER XV.

VISIT TO CALVARY, AND THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

JANUARY 26th. It being signified to us, at the convent, that the Holy Sepulchre would be open for admission to-day, Mr. Banks was desirous of visiting it, and I profited also by the same occasion to enter this celebrated monument.

We left the convent at an early hour, and constantly descending till we reached nearly the centre of the city, we arrived in about ten minutes at the low part of the town, in which the church stands. In the large open space before it were at least a hundred

venders of relics, with their little stalls of chaplets, amulets, and crosses of coloured berries and mother-of-pearl, laid out before them; besides other sellers of glass-ware, bracelets, beads, and trinkets, suited to the taste of the various visitors, and equally unobjectionable to purchasers of every faith.

The front of the church presents a singular mixture of eastern and western architecture; but the combination, however contrary to the rigid chastity of taste, produces an agreeable effect. Among the small columns of the front are two of verd-antique, and the aspect of the whole cannot be denied to possess a venerable richness, though it be destitute of regular beauty.

We entered by a large door, now thrown open, and found two Turkish guards, lolling on cushions, and smoking their long pipes, in a recess on our left. To these we were each obliged to pay thirty-three piastres, as the fee of admission demanded from all Europeans who are not furnished with the Sultan's firman. This document exempts the possessor of it from all such charges, but neither of us were thus provided. The Christian subjects of the Porte and European ecclesiastics pay only half this sum, and Mohammedans are admitted gratis whenever they are disposed to enter. The money being once paid, either by pilgrim or resident, ensures his free admission for the whole of the year, on days of public service only. If the door be opened on any other occasion, at the express desire of visitors, the original entrance-fee must be paid over again. The days of opening are regulated by the feasts of the different sects who occupy the church; and they, for the celebration of their stated services, are obliged to pay a fixed sum from their separate and peculiar funds; so that, on the whole, the receipts of the Turks from the devotion of the Christians here, may be estimated to amount to several thousand pounds annually.

A great portion of the church having been destroyed by fire about nine years since, it has been recently restored; and both the architecture and decoration of the interior are said to be much inferior to those of the original edifice. The general plan of the

whole building, and the arrangement of the holy stations which it contains, are, however, so exactly preserved, that the descriptions of the earliest visitors apply as correctly to its present as to its former state. The account which Chateaubriand has given from Deshayes, though written nearly two centuries ago, contains almost every thing that could be said upon the subject, and the few observations of that writer which follow the description referred to, on the style of architecture, &c. appear to be generally just.

The tombs of Godefroy de Bouillon, and of Baudouin, his brother, which drew forth the enthusiastic apostrophe of that writer to the ashes of his heroic countrymen, have been spitefully destroyed by their rivals the Greeks, so that not a vestige of them remains to mark even the spot whereon they stood.

Having visited all the stations, so often enumerated in a hundred books of pilgrimage, from the stone of unction near the entrance, to the top of Calvary on which the cross was elevated, in the regular order of their succession, we remained another hour within to examine more at leisure the different parts of the whole, and to witness the strange scenes that were transacting at one and the same moment, in different parts of the church.

The Corinthian columns of fine marble which formerly adorned the interior, being destroyed by the late fire, the dome is now supported by tall and slender square pillars of masonry, plastered on the outside, and placed so thickly together as to produce the worst effect. The meanness of every thing about the architecture of the central dome, and of the whole rotunda which surrounds the sepulchre itself, can only be exceeded indeed by the wretched taste of its painted decorations. Mr. Bankes observed, that he knew of nothing to which he could aptly compare it, but to a poor and paltry French theatre; and, for myself, the nearest models to which I could liken it, were the painted country-houses of the Turks, in what is called the true Constantinople taste, and which might be light and flowery enough for garden summer-houses, but

is strangely misplaced in a sanctuary of devotion, or in adorning the tomb of the Deity.

Among the inferior objects which attracted our notice, were, first, the capitals of two large pillars, evidently very ancient, and of an order differing from any that we had before seen. These capitals reminded us of the pomegranates and net-work which are enumerated among the ornaments of the Temple. They are now placed on short thick shafts, and serve to support the roof of a grotto, in which the holy cross is said to have been found by St. Helena; the place where she sat to view the workmen employed in the excavation being shown close by. It is by no means improbable but that these capitals belonged originally to some ancient Jewish building, and that they might have been selected from among a heap of other ruins to be applied to their present purpose; but there is not even a tradition regarding their origin.

In another part of the church, we were shown two round holes cut in the rock, and descending to a sort of grotto beneath. One of these holes was considerably larger than the other, and the use made of them is this. The Greek pilgrims, who are sufficiently meagre to try the experiment with some hope of success, go down through the large hole, and come up through the small one, in which, if they succeed, though at the risk of being bruised and losing their skin, they are thought to be in a fit state for heaven, and to be secure of its enjoyment if they happen to grow no fatter. *

* The corpulent friars of Europe seem not to admit this maxim of leanness being a passport to heaven, if one might judge from their pride in a full round belly. Yet Christians are not peculiar in their indulgence of that idea. In the great Mosque of Solomon, according to Père Roger, as cited by Chateaubriand, a similar mode of trial is practised by the devout. "Besides the thirty-two columns which sustain the dome, there are two other smaller ones pretty near to the western door, which they show to foreign pilgrims, whom they make to believe, that when they pass freely between these columns, they are predestinated to the paradise of Mohammed; and they say that if a Christian were to pass through these columns, they would assuredly close together and crush him." The pious father, who seems himself to have entered within these forbidden precincts by stealth, slyly remarks, "I know very well, however, to whom that

After passing these holes, and going beyond the Coptic chapel, where a solitary old priest was singing his service at the altar, we entered into a dark grotto, where were several appearances of ancient sepulchres hewn in the rock; and though some of them were very small, perhaps for children, they seemed to remove all doubt of the ground itself having been used as a place of burial, at a very early age.

As the last and most important monument within these walls, and that to which every other is made subservient, we entered the Holy Sepulchre itself, the venerated tomb of the Living God; an excavation originally made by human hands, though destined to contain, for a given period, the lifeless corpse of the great Creator and Director of the Universe!

To enter here, and kneel before the shrine, and kiss the marble that encases it with absolute indifference, I should hold to be impossible; but if I were asked what were the sentiments that possessed me at the moment of bowing before the altar, I should say, with Chateaubriand, that it would be impossible for me to describe them, and that such a train of ideas presented themselves at once to my mind, that none remained for a moment fixed there. My feelings, however, though equally indescribable as his own, were, I believe, of a very different kind.

After having been for some time the most honoured sanctuary of the Christians, it became a Pagan altar, and the statue of Jupiter usurped the place of Christ; while Venus was worshipped on the scene of his death, and Adonis bowed to on the spot which gave him birth. Constantine followed to break down the idols of the unbelievers, and the Persian Kösroes soon succeeded to rase again to the ground the edifice of the imperial Greek. Heraclius

accident has not happened, notwithstanding that they were good Christians.* At Malabar Point, in the island of Bombay, is a similar hole of probation passed through by devout Hindoos; so that the notion seems to be borne out by examples in very opposite religions.

* Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 376. French edition, 8vo.

restored the cross ; the Saracens appeared and laid it low. The crusading armies of Europe exhausted their best blood and treasure to rescue it from the hands of infidels, if but for a moment, until it fell again before the conquering crescent of Mohammed ; and at the present instant, the avarice and indolence of the Turks suffer the tomb of the Messiah to remain unmolested, in consideration only of the gold and silver which it yields up yearly to their coffers.

The descriptions which have been so often given of this monument, leave nothing to be added to their details. Chateaubriand has industriously collected all that can tend to illustrate either its history or its present state ; and, as far as I could judge, his remarks, both on the tomb and the church, have the merit of general accuracy.

Our stay in the sepulchre itself was very short. The crowds pressing at the door ; the smallness of the aperture of entrance ; the confined space within, hung round with crimson damask, and ornamented with silver lamps and painting ; the hurry and bustle occasioned by the worshippers searching for their shoes, left at the door, as every one went in barefoot ; the struggles to be the first to get near enough to kiss the marble ; and sometimes the forcibly pulling off the turbans of those who might have forgotten to uncover their heads, presented altogether a scene of such confusion, that, added to the risk of suffocation in so impure an atmosphere, it drove us out rapidly to make room for others.

In reviewing again the different chapels in which the various worship of the Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, was all going on at once, and that too in every diversity of manner, nothing was more striking than the religious pride of the worshippers of each sect, which made them cast down a look of contempt on those of the others, as men irretrievably lost in error, though we ourselves, who belonged professedly to none, were for that reason treated with respect by all.

From a number of lesser incidents which passed under our own eyes, we could perfectly believe and understand what Maundrell

had said of the church here, in his day, and which remains unaltered to the present. *

The same traveller's description of the ceremony of the holy fire, of which he was himself an eye-witness, is a faithful but disgraceful picture of the scenes transacted here from one end of the year to the other, and inclines one to call the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, a temple combining the most surprising mixture of credulity and imposition, devotion and wickedness, that has ever issued from any one source since the world began. That which I myself witnessed confirmed to me all that I had heard and seen of the vile appropriation of religion here to the worst of purposes, and induced me to believe what I had at first thought at least a highly-coloured picture, though painted by the chaste, the accurate, and the pious Maundrell. †

After our return from the sepulchre, while Mr. Bankes and myself sat at dinner in the pilgrims' room at the convent, we were visited as usual by the two Italians, who were chiefly occupied in our supply; the one a Padre Isidore of Livorno, the comuniero, and the other a Padre — of Lucca, the spenditore, of the establishment.

* That which has always been the great prize contended for by the several sects, is, the command and appropriation of the Holy Sepulchre; a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between the Greeks and Latins, that, in disputing which party should go into it to celebrate their mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds, even at the very door of the sepulchre, mingling their own blood with their sacrifices: an evidence of which fury the father guardian showed us, in a great scar upon his arm, which, he told us, was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars.—Maundrell's Journey, p. 94.

† "We went," says he, "to take our last leave of the Holy Sepulchre, this being the last time that it was to be opened this festival. Upon this finishing-day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee for entrance, as at other times, calling it a day of charity. By this promiscuous licence they let in not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious also, who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitution, profaning the holy places in such a manner (as it is said) that they were not worse defiled than when the heathen here celebrated their Aphrodisia."

The first of these had passed his early years as a travelling dentist in Italy, but finding this trade to fail, had entered the order of St. Francis. He was a modest, and perhaps a moral man, his only visible failing being that of being a sycophant and an intolerable proser. The second had been bred a shoemaker, and, disliking constant manual labour, had become also a Franciscan. He had been several years the sacristan of the convent at Alexandria, where we remembered to have seen each other often, as he had only recently returned from thence to the Holy Land. This circumstance of our having met before, had given him a greater degree of familiarity than any of the rest had ever presumed to ; so that he always remained the last in our room, under pretence to the others of attending our wishes for to-morrow's dinner. The chief inducement, however, lay in a bottle of French brandy, which was always placed on our table, but of which neither Mr. Bankes nor myself partook. From this he regularly took his evening cup, which was generally a deep one ; and he both drank of it and dwelt upon its praises afterwards with a high degree of pleasure.

Our conversation was interrupted by the entry of Mohammed, the Italian renegado, who, though he had lived long in Albania and Egypt, and had been at Meccà and Medina, was almost as much a Christian as a Turk ; yet he could not avoid a burst of laughter, when he told us that the monks were all employed in flogging themselves severely, and asked the old brandy-loving friar why he was not of the number ? The monk answered, that it was penance enough for him to cook for eighty-eight people, and teach the boys of the convent to make shoes, over both of which duties he presided. We learnt, however, from his communications, that to-night was a night of flagellation, and that all the Frati flogged themselves on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, besides every night during Lent and other great fasts, in penance for general sins ; some doing it with the cords of their order, others with rods, and others with small chains, in propor-

tion to the strength of their bodies to bear, and their devotion to inflict. Such was the extraordinary mixture of profligacy and piety, which the history of another day in Jerusalem disclosed.

27th. It being the sabbath of the Jews, whose worship we were very desirous of witnessing in this their once imperial city, Mr. Banks and I went at day-light to attend the morning-service at the Jewish synagogue.

Arriving at the spot, which was in a low and obscure street near the centre of the town, we descended by a flight of steps into a grotto. On getting down into this, we found it to be a large suit of subterranean rooms, lighted by small windows from above, around the sides, and near the roof.

The whole place was divided into seven or eight smaller rooms, in the centre of each of which was a raised square enclosure, open above at the sides; and here stood the priest who read the service. The female worshippers were above, looking down on the congregation through a skreen of lattice-work. The males were below, all seated on benches, and every one had a white serge-cloth, striped with blue at the ends, thrown over his head. At the front corners of this cloth were two long cords, and around two of the edges of it was a fringe of threads.

After some time passed in reading and responses, we went into the central rooms, which were both of them longer than the outer ones; and at the end of these were curtains for the vail of the temple. In the principal room, this vail was of purple cloth worked with gold; and on its centre were the two tables of the law in Hebrew, nearly in the same form as we have them in English in our own churches.

The priest who officiated had, during this last week, arrived here from Amsterdam. The book from which he read rested on a piece of crimson velvet, worked with Hebrew letters of gold; after an apparent weeping on the part of the people, who covered their faces with the white head-cloth, and moved to and fro as if distressed for the loss of something, a man walked round the synagogue,

crying out with a loud voice, and changing the first word only at every subsequent exclamation. This we learnt was the publication of the sum offered for the sight of the torat or scriptures. Advances were then made by individuals of the audience, and repeated by the crier, until either a sufficient or some specified sum was raised.

The priest then made a loud shout, and all the people joined; when some of the elders drew aside the vail of the temple, and opening a recess like that of a sanctum sanctorum, took from thence a cabinet highly ornamented with silver. In this were two rolls, containing the book of the law on parchment, rolled round a small pillar in the centre, which, on being turned, exposed the writing of the roll successively to view. On the top of this roll was fixed two silver censers with small bells, and it was carried round the assembly, when each of the congregation touched the writing with the cords at the front corners of his head-cloths, afterwards placing these cords to his lips, and then across his eyes. The cabinet was followed by a boy, bearing four silver censers with bells on a stand; and after every one had touched it, it was placed on the altar, in the central sanctuary, before the priest.

We had been suffered to go through every part of the synagogue during the service, which consisted chiefly in reading, and had to press through narrow ranks of the worshippers. We were at length accosted in Italian by an old rabbi, who called himself Moallim Zacharias, and told us that he was the banker of the governor, and the chief of the Jews here. He said that he had left Leghorn at the age of fifteen, against the wish of his friends, to end his days in Jerusalem, and that he had remained here ever since, being now nearly sixty years of age. From him we learnt the chief particulars of the worship already described, and he told us that the service was the same, in all the separate divisions of the synagogue, which we had reason to believe was true, as we had ourselves seen it to be the same in two of these places.

The priests wore no particular robes or symbols, nor was there

any difference between the dresses of the elder and the younger people, the rich or the poor; all wore the white serge-cloth with blue stripes at the ends, two cords at the front corners, and an open fringe around it; and all were provided with a small Hebrew book of prayers. The service of the day included the reading of the history of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt; and in the midst of this we had a song of rejoicing for the circumcision of a child on the eighth day.

On the breaking up of the assembly, five elders, who were near the vail of the temple, bowed before it; and placed their faces on the cloth itself, as if they were kissing it. All the congregation then turned their faces that way, and these elders, who, we were told, must be real descendants of Moses to enjoy that privilege, implored a blessing on the people; while they exclaimed in Hebrew, "Glory to the most High!" repeatedly rising on their toes at the same time, and alternately bending their heads backwards and forwards.

When this was ended, the white serge-cloths were taken off from their heads, and carefully rolled up; after which they were put into a little bag, and carried home in the hand. Rose-water was sprinkled upon the assembly by the man who had cried out before the producing of the Scriptures, and we received from him our portion with the rest of the congregation. Nothing could be more mean than this subterranean synagogue, and nothing more paltry than its ornaments. Its lamps, only a few of which were lighted, were disposed in circles of five each, suspended from gilded hoops; and the carving and painting was chiefly flowers, but of the poorest kind. We learned that the money raised by the bringing out the Book of the Law, which could be seen only thrice in the week, was appropriated to the general fund for the expenses of the synagogue; and the readers, it was said, were paid only three hundred piastres per year. We could distinguish no *high priest*, as every room seemed to have had a similar teacher.

On the feast of the Paschal, three hundred piastres more are spent on the decoration of the synagogue alone.

In the whole congregation, there were about five hundred men and male children, and above were said to be nearly eight hundred women and female children. In all Jerusalem, Moallim Zachariah told us that there were not one thousand male Jews, but that there were at least three thousand females. This difference, he said, was thus occasioned. No male Jews came hither but such as were contented to live poorly, or had money to let out at interest for their subsistence; as there was no commerce practised in the place, and all were therefore rabbis, or dwellers in the courts of the Lord, or students, or devout persons. Widows, however, from all countries, if they could get to Jerusalem, were sure of being maintained by the community of their own religion; and, accordingly, as many as could get together the means of doing so, flocked here for that purpose.

The great happiness of their people, he added, was to die at Jerusalem, and to be buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They still firmly expected the Messiah, and thought that the past wars were preparatory to his coming; while they laughed at the Christians and Mohammedans; and despised them, as not of the seed of Abraham, to whom only the Christ would come. Although many of the Jews now here came from different parts of the world, their physiognomy was as strikingly national as if they were all descended from one common father.

Previous to the invasion of Syria by Buonaparte, a law existed among the Turks that there should be no more than two thousand Jews in Jerusalem, on pain of death to those who exceeded that number. At that period, the Christians were all shut up in their convents, and the Jews in their quarter, and if Jerusalem had then been attacked by the French, it was intended by the Turks here to massacre all who were not Mohammedans without distinction of age or sex.

The picture which is drawn of these people by M. Chateaubriand, like that which he has given of the Christians, is remarkable rather for its eloquence than its truth; and, like it too, proves how far enthusiasm, and the infection of holy fervour, may occasion men of the most accurate judgment on general subjects, to deceive even themselves on particular points. *

* “ Tandis que la nouvelle Jérusalem sort ainsi du désert, brillante de clarté, jetez les yeux entre la montagne de Sion et le temple; voyez cet autre petit peuple qui vit séparé du reste des habitans de la cité. Objet particulier de tous les mépris, il baisse la tête sans se plaindre; il souffre toutes les avanies sans demander justice; il se laisse accabler de coups sans soupirer; on lui demande sa tête: il la présente au cimetière. Si quelque membre de cette société proscrite vient à mourir, son compagnon ira, pendant la nuit, l'enterrer furtivement dans la vallée de Josaphat, à l'ombre du Temple de Salomon. Pénétrez dans la demeure de ce peuple, vous le trouverez dans une affreuse misère, faisant lire un livre mystérieux à des enfans qui, à leur tour, le feront lire à leurs enfans. Ce qu'il faisoit il y a cinq mille ans, ce peuple le fait encore. Il a assisté dix-sept fois à la ruine de Jérusalem, et rien ne peut le décourager; rien ne peut l'empêcher de tourner ses regards vers Sion. Quand on voit les Juifs dispersés sur la terre, selon la parole de Dieu, on est surpris sans doute: mais, pour être frappé d'un étonnement surnaturel, il faut les retrouver à Jérusalem; il faut voir ces légitimes maîtres de la Judée esclaves et étrangers dans leur propre pays; il faut les voir attendant, sous toutes les oppressions, un roi qui doit les délivrer. Ecrasés par la croix qui les condamne, et qui est plantée sur leurs têtes, cachés près du temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre, ils demeurent dans leur déplorable aveuglement. Les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains, ont disparu de la terre; et un petit peuple, dont l'origine précéda celle de ces grands peuples, existe encore sans mélange dans les décombres de sa patrie. Si quelque chose, parmi les nations, porte le caractère du miracle, nous pensons que ce caractère est ici. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus merveilleux, même aux yeux du philosophe, que cette rencontre de l'antique et de la nouvelle Jérusalem au pied du Calvaire; la première s'affligeant à l'aspect du sépulcre de Jésus Christ ressuscité; la seconde se consolant auprès du seul tombeau qui n'aura rien à rendre à la fin des siècles!” — *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem, tom. ii. p. 179.*

JERUSALEM



CHAPTER XVI.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF JERUSALEM.

OUR excursions around the city being now closed, as well as our visits to the principal places within its walls, I sat down to take a retrospective view of the chief particulars which we had noted in detail, and to unite them into a more general picture.

Jerusalem is seated on unequal ground, on a range of high hills, some few eminences of which are even higher than those on which the city itself stands, and in the midst of a rocky and barren space, which almost defies the efforts of human labour to fertilize by any common process.

The shape of the city is irregular, but it may be said generally to have its sides facing the cardinal points. Its circumference has been variously estimated, both in the measurement by time and

by paces; that of Maundrell may, perhaps, be the most safely relied on, and this makes it altogether 4630 paces, or just two miles and a half.

Its general appearance, as seen from the Mount of Olives, the best point of view that we could find, is given in the account of our visit to that place; and most of the conspicuous objects seen from thence have been enumerated in detail. Its boundaries could not be more accurately described in prose than they have been in the animated verse of Tasso, in his admired poem on its delivery.*

During our stay here, I made the most accurate estimate that my means of information admitted, of the actual population of Jerusalem at the present moment. From this it appeared that the fixed residents; more than one half of whom are Mohammedans, are about eight thousand; but the continual arrival and departure

* “ Gerusalem sovra due colli è posta
D'impari altezza, e volti fronte a fronte.
Va per lo mezzo suo valle interposta,
Che lei distingue, e l'un de l'altro monte.
Fuor da tre lati ha malagevol costa:
Per l'altro vassi, e non par che sì monte.
Ma d'altissime mura è più difesa
La parte piana, e 'ncontra borea stesa.

La città dentro ha lochi, in cui si serba
L'acqua che piove, e laghi e fonte vivi;
Ma fuor la terra intorno è nuda d'erba,
E di fontane sterile e di rivi.
Nè si vede fiorir lieta e superba
D'alberi, e fare schermo ai raggi estivi,
Se non se in quanto oltra sei miglia un bosco
Sorge d'ombre nocenti orrido e fosco.

Ha da quel lato donde il giorno appare,
Del felice Giordan le nobil onde;
E de la parte occidental, del mare
Mediterraneo l'arenose sponde;
Verso borea è Betel ch'alzò 'l altare
Al bue de Poro, e la Samària; e donde
Austro portar le suol piovoso nembo,
Betelem, che 'l gran parto accolse in grembo.”

Gerusalemme Liberata, Canto iii. s. 55.

of strangers, make the total number of those present in the city from ten to fifteen thousand generally, according to the season of the year. *

The proportion which the numbers of those of different sects bear to each other in this estimate, was not so easily ascertained. The answers which I received to enquiries on this point, were framed differently by the professors of every different faith. Each of these seemed anxious to magnify the number of those who believed his own dogmas, and to diminish that of the professors of other creeds. Their accounts were, therefore so discordant, that no reliance could be placed on the acturacy of any of them. †

The Mohammedans are certainly the most numerous, and these consist of nearly equal portions of Osmanli Turks, from Asia Minor; descendents of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arab blood, by intermarriages; and pure Syrian Arabs, of an unmixed race. Of Europeans, there are only the few monks of the Catholic convent, and the still fewer Latin pilgrims who occasionally visit them. The Greeks are the most numerous of all the Christians, and these are chiefly the clergy and devotees. The Armenians follow next in order, as to numbers, but their body is thought to exceed that of the Greeks in influence and in wealth. The inferior sects of Copts, Abys-

* In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, Jerusalem is said to have been small, and surrounded by a triple wall, inhabited by a mixture of all the nations in the world. The knights had then there two buildings, in one of which were 500 armed men always ready for action, and the other was used as a hospital for pilgrims. The first stood on the site of the temple, where the great mosque of Solomon now stands. These armed men were of the knights themselves, who had taken the vow of perpetual adherence, besides many French and Italians, who came here to fulfil a vow of service for a limited time. Benjamin merely mentions the temple over the sepulchre of Jesus of Nazareth, and describes the four gates of the city. In the palace of Solomon were then seen the stables of his building. The palace is described as a noble edifice, and the *Picine*, or place where the victims were sacrificed, still existed, on the walls of which the Jews wrote their names when they visited it. — Bergeron's Collection.

† Two centuries ago there were in Jerusalem three Christians for one Turk. — See Travels of Two English Pilgrims, in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 339.

sinians, Syrians, Nestorians, Maronites, Chaldeans, &c. are scarcely perceptible in the crowd. And even the Jews are more remarkable from the striking peculiarity of their features and dress, than from their numbers, as contrasted with the other bodies.

From Christmas to Easter, is the period in which the city is most populous, the principal feasts of the Christians falling between these great holidays. At the latter festival, indeed, it is crowded, and the city exhibits a spectacle no where else to be seen in the world. Mecca and Medina offer, perhaps, a still greater variety of persons, dresses, and tongues; yet there the pilgrims visit but one temple, and are united in one faith; while here, Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, all perform their devotions within a few yards of each other, each proudly believing that this city of the Living God is holy and noble to himself, and his peculiar sect alone. It is this persuasion that conjures up between them that feeling which Mr. Browne meant to describe, when he says of the Moslems and the Christians, that "there exists between them all that infernal hatred which two divinely revealed religions can alone inspire." *

In Jerusalem, there is scarcely any trade, and but few manufactures. The only one that at all flourishes, is that of crucifixes, chaplets, and relics, of which, incredible as it may seem, whole cargoes are shipped off from Jaffa, for Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Religion being almost the only business which brings men of opposite quarters together here, there is much less bustle than would be produced in a trading town by a smaller number of inhabitants.

This city being included within the pashalic of Damascus, is governed by a Mutesellim, appointed from thence; and the nature of his duties, and the extent of his responsibility, is similar to that in other Turkish towns. No difference is created by the peculiar sanctity of this place, as is done by that of the Arabian cities of Mecca and Medina; for while a governor of either of these is

* Browne's Travels in Africa and Asia, p. 362. 4to.

honoured by peculiar privileges, the Mutésellim of Jerusalem ranks only as the magistrate of a provincial town.

The force usually kept up here consists of about a thousand soldiers, including horse and foot. These are armed and equipped in the common Turkish fashion, and are composed of Turks, Arabs, and Albanians. The walls of the city, added to the strength of its natural position, form a sufficient defence against any attack from the armies of the country; and some few cannon, mounted at distant intervals on the towers, would enable them to repel a besieging force of Arabs, but it could offer no effectual resistance to an attack conducted on the European system of war.

From the general sterility of the surrounding country, even when the early and the latter rains favour the husbandman's labours, and from the frightful barrenness that extends all around Jerusalem during the parching droughts of summer, every article of food is much dearer here than it is in any other part of Syria. The wages of the labourer are advanced in the same proportion; as the lowest rate given here to those who perform the meanest offices, is about the third of a Spanish dollar per day; while on the sea-coast of this country, it seldom exceeds a sixth, and in Egypt is never more than an eighth of the same coin.

So much has been said on almost every subject connected with this city, from the natural desire to gratify the ardent curiosity which the very name of Jerusalem must excite, that it is difficult to say any thing which should be perfectly new. On the other hand, that desire of communicating or of dwelling on details, being always as great on the part of the writer, as the readiness to receive them can be on that of those who read, it is equally difficult to know where to stop. If, after these dry details, the reader should still, however, desire to see them united, or grouped, as it were, in a more general and finished picture, I could not do better than refer him to that which M. Chateaubriand has drawn; for though its chief merit is in the style of its colouring, there are many

faithful touches in it, and its dark shades will offer a striking contrast to the "gorgeous magnificence of glittering domes, and stately palaces," which the illusions of the first view have conjured up for more travellers than one, on first beholding this holy city.*

So much learning and critical sagacity have been already exercised in dissertations on the topography of this ancient city, and in endeavours to identify the chief points of it with the local positions now seen, compared with the existing traditions regarding them, that it might be thought an unwarrantable presumption to dispute the accuracy of the inferences to which these have led. The subject, however, is sufficiently obscure even now, after all the learning and skill that have been exhausted thereon, to admit of new lights being thrown on it; but that, not so much from opening new and hidden stores of learning regarding the changes which this city has undergone, as from an examination of

* "Les maisons de Jérusalem sont de lourdes masses carrées, fort basses, sans cheminées et sans fenêtres; elles se terminent en terrasses aplaties ou en dômes, et elles ressemblent à des prisons ou à des sépulcres. Tout seroit à l'œil d'un niveau égal, si les clochers des églises, les minarets des mosquées, les cimes de quelques cyprès et les buissons de nopals, ne rompoient l'uniformité du plan. A la vue de ces maisons de pierres, renfermées dans un paysage de pierres, on se demande si ce ne sont pas là les monumens confus d'un cimetière au milieu d'un désert ?

Entrez dans la ville, rien ne vous consolera de la tristesse extérieure : vous vous égarez dans de petites rues non pavées, qui montent et descendent sur un sol inégal, et vous marchez dans des flots de poussière, ou parmi des cailloux roulans. Des toiles jetées d'une maison à l'autre augmentent l'obscurité de ce labyrinthe; des bazars voûtés et infects achèvent d'ôter la lumière à la ville désolée; quelques chétives boutiques n'étaient aux yeux que la misère; et souvent ces boutiques même sont fermées dans la crainte du passage d'un cadî. Personne dans les rues, personne aux portes de la ville; quelquefois seulement un paysan se glisse dans l'ombre, cachant sous ses habits les fruits de son labeur, dans la crainte d'être dépouillé par le soldat; dans un coin à l'écart, le boucher Arabe égorge quelque bête suspendue par les pieds à un mur en ruines: à l'air hagard et féroce de cet homme, à ses bras ensanglantés, vous croiriez qu'il vient plutôt de tuer son semblable, que d'immoler un agneau. Pour tout bruit dans la cité déicide, on entend par intervalle le galop de la cavale du désert: c'est le janissaire qui apporte la tête du Bédouin, ou qui va piller le Fellah." *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, tom. ii. p. 176.

the local features of its present site, free from the shackles and fetters of monkish guidance and unsupported tradition.

The principal cause of the errors which are presumed to exist in the systems that pretend to fix with such infallibility the localities of this celebrated spot, has been, no doubt, the necessity of adapting the plans of the ancient city to the exclusion of Calvary without the walls. . . The place assumed for Calvary, is now in the very centre of the modern town, so that, on the face of such an assumption, it must appear that the city has gained on the one side by just as much exactly, as that is now within and distant from its walls. In making this place of Calvary the chief point from which the relative positions and distances of the other positions are ascertained, instead of fixing it by reference to more decisively marked natural features, a confusion has ensued, which it would require the breaking down of all the fabric that superstition has raised thereon to reduce into intelligible order.

Objections to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and of Calvary, in which it is fixed, were urged, even by pious Christians, at a very early period, and Quaresmius undertook to answer them.* These have again been renewed by Dr. Clarke, the latest, and, for a long time, the only Protestant traveller into the Holy Land, who had enough of the love of Scriptural illustration to think the topography of Jerusalem worth enquiring about. According to the opinion of some of the critics, he has succeeded in proving that the spot assumed for Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, is not the one which

* Quaresmius opens his chapter, entitled, "Objectiones nonnullæ quibus impugnatur veritas sanctissimi Sepulchri," by saying "Audiui nonnullas nebulones occidentales hæreticos detrahentis iis quæ dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sepulchro, et nullius momenti ratiunculis negantes illud vere esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu, &c." (Vid. cap. 14, lib. 5. Elucid. T. S.) In the following chapter (15.) he offers a refutation of the objection urged by Gulielmus de Baldensel, which was, that the original sepulchre was an excavation, whereas the present appeared to be a building. "Monumentum Christi erat excisum in petra vivâ, &c. illud verò ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento." This is admitted to be true of the *exterior* of the sepulchre, but not of the *interior*, which, it is contended, is the original rock contained within a more costly casing.

they really occupied *; while others think the matter still doubtful, and incline rather to the hypothesis which he has attempted to overturn. †

The most satisfactory way of examining this question, will be, perhaps, to go over the original authorities for the topography of the city itself, and of such remarkable places as are mentioned in its immediate neighbourhood, as these will form the safest guides by which to infer the positions of others.

Josephus, in his chapter appropriated expressly to the description of Jerusalem, says, "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley dividing them asunder; at which valley, the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct: accordingly, it was called the Citadel by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but 'tis, by us, called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon, when she is horned. Over against this, there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called; and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it; and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep

* Quarterly Review.

† Edinburgh Review.

valleys, and by reason of the precipices on both sides, are every where impassable." *

We shall not follow the details regarding the walls and the towers, since this is a subject which D'Anville has already done at great length, and one upon which little curiosity would now be excited. Let us rather confine ourselves to the more remarkable features of the ground, and the positions of the hills, by which the great outline will be more easily determined.

The loftiest, the most extensive, and, in all respects, the most conspicuous eminence, included within the site of the ancient city, was that of Sion, called the Holy Hill, and the Citadel of David. This we have positive authority for fixing on the *south* of the city. David himself saith, " Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the *north*, the city of the great king." †

The second hill, both in size and importance, was Acra. " This," says D'Anville, " rose to the *north* of Sion, its *east* side facing Mount Moriah, on which the temple was situated, and from which this hill was separated only by a chasm which the Asmoneans partly filled up by lowering the summit of Acra, as we are informed by Josephus in the place quoted above ; for this summit commanding the temple, and being very near it, according to the account of Josephus, Antiochus Epiphanes erected a fortress upon it to over-awe the city and the temple, which fortress having a Greek or Macedonian garrison, held out against the Jews till the time of Simon, who demolished it, and at the same time levelled the summit of the hill." ‡

The third eminence was Mount Moriah, on which the temple stood, and this was to the *east* of Acra, but like it to the *north* of Sion, these two being divided from each other by the broad valley subsequently filled up by the Asmoneans, and both being separated

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, book v. c. iv. s. 1.

† Psalm xlviii. ver. 2.

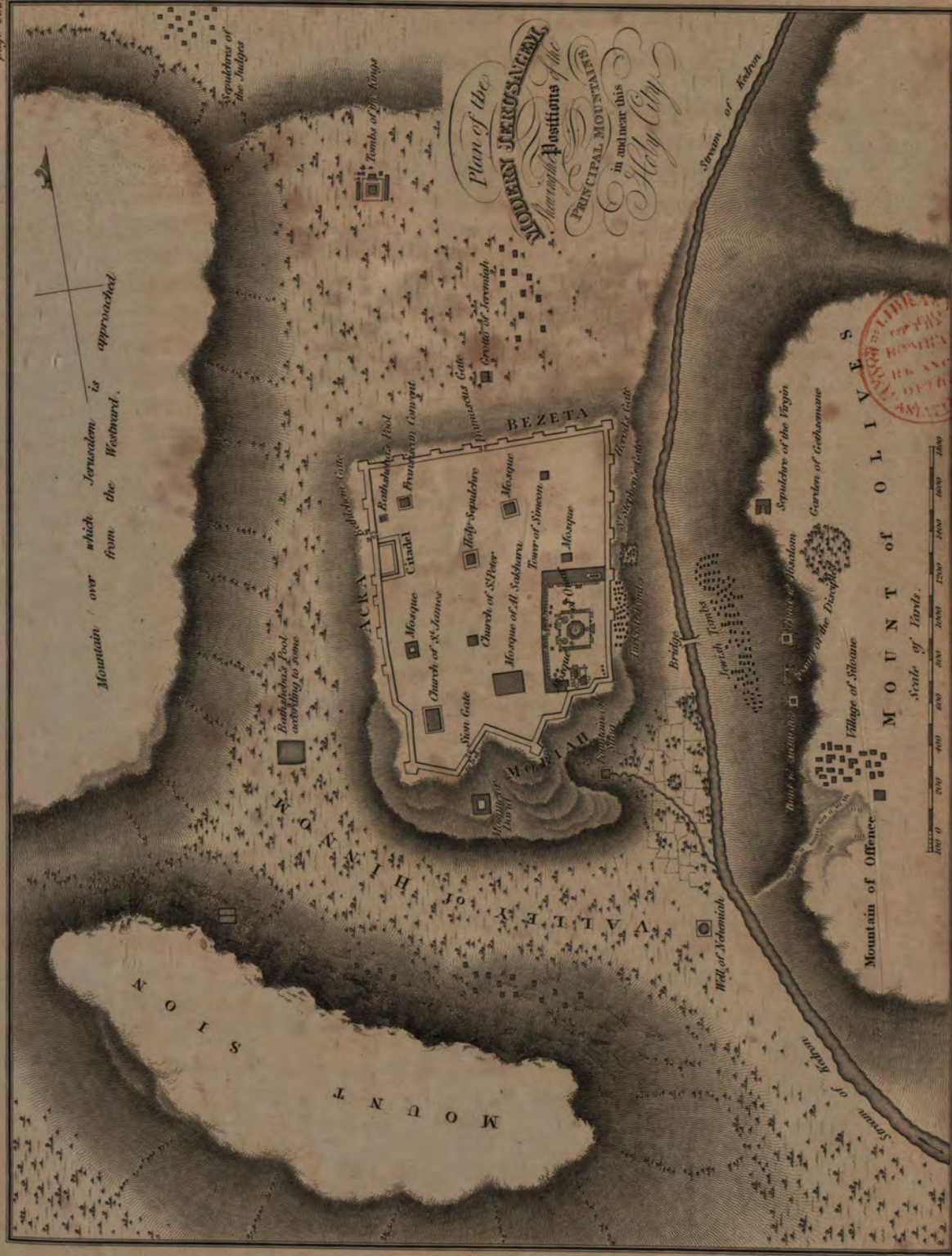
‡ D'Anville's Dissertation on the Extent of Ancient Jerusalem, in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 311.

from Sion by the valley of the Cheesemongers, or the Tyropæon, which extended as far as the fountain of Siloam. “The *east* side of Mount Moriah,” says D’Anville, “bordered the valley of Kedron, commonly called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which was very deep. The south side, overlooking a very low spot (the Tyropæon) was faced from top to bottom with a strong wall, and had a bridge going across the valley for its communication with Sion. The *west* side looked towards Acra, the appearance of which from the temple is compared by Josephus to a theatre. And on the *north* side, an artificial ditch, says the same historian, separated the temple from a hill, named Bezetha, which was afterwards joined to the town by an extension of its area.” *

We see thus that though there were only *two great hills* on which Jerusalem stood, namely Sion and Moriah, the one containing the ark and the citadel, and the other the temple, divided from each other by the deep valley of the Tyropæon, and connected by a bridge; yet that the *northern* division contained in itself the *three* separate eminences of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, as inferior parts of the same great hill, and separated from each other by less marked boundaries than the two great ones were.

The extent which the area of the ancient city occupied, has been variously estimated, from the discordancy of the authorities on which such evaluations must necessarily depend. D’Anville, however, has endeavoured to reconcile them, by measuring each estimate by a separate standard, so as to make the lowest estimate of twenty-seven stadia, given by Eusebius, agree pretty nearly with that of fifty stadia, given by Hecatæus, merely from calculating each by a stadium of a different length. I do not think this method inadmissible in all cases; but, in the present, it seems rather like the bending of facts to support a system, than to be borne out by the arguments which he urges in favour of this licence. According to this mode of interpretation, the greatest measure

* D’Anville’s Dissertation, in App. p. 312.



given to the circumference of Jerusalem is 2700 French fathoms, and the least is 2550. *

Pococke, without citing the data on which this conclusion is made, says, that "the ancient city was above four miles in circumference, but that now it does not exceed two miles and a half." † This estimate of its present size accords perfectly with that given before by Maundrell, who measured it from gate to gate by paces, and these 4630 paces, or 4167 English yards, as turned into French fathoms by D'Anville, make 1955. According to the highest standard of its ancient measurement, therefore, the circumference of the city has become contracted from upwards of four miles to two and a half, and according to the lowest standard, from 2550 to 1955 French fathoms: that is, by the first, the modern city covers a less space of ground than the ancient, by more than a third; and by the last it has lost only a fourth of its original size.

Whatever difference may exist, however, in the standards of measurement, or in their results when applied to a comparison of the ancient with the modern city of Jerusalem, the local features and the respective boundaries of each are so strongly marked, that neither of them can be easily mistaken.

"In respect to the *eastern* part of Jerusalem," says D'Anville, "there is no ambiguity. It is notorious and evident that the valley of Kedron served for the boundary of the city in the same, or nearly the same line, as was described on the border of that valley by the front of the temple which looked that way. We arrive at the like certainty in respect to the *west* of the city, when we consider that the natural elevation of the ground which bounds the area of Sion on that side, as well as towards the *south*, continues to run *northward* till it comes opposite the temple. On the *north*, it may be added, that the royal sepulchres, falsely called the tombs of the kings, and with great show of probability identified with

* D'Anville's Dissertation, p. 325.

† Vol. ii. chap. ii. p. 7. folio.

that of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, forms the utmost limit of the city that way." Josephus says, "The beginning of the third wall was at the Tower Hippicus; whence it reached as far as the *north* quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus; and then was so far extended, till it came over against the monuments of Helena; which Helena was Queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates. It then extended farther to a great length; and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the Monument of the Fuller*, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kedron."† The wall which separately encompassed Zion would form the *southern* boundary.

From all these details, we gather that Jerusalem stood on four eminences, with one very deep valley, and two smaller ones, dividing them; that it was bounded by the monument of Helena, and the sepulchral caves, on the *north*; by the southern brow of Sion, on the *south*; by the brook Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, on the *east*; and by the brow of the hill of Acra on the *west*.

It is said by D'Anville that the most remarkable declivity of Mount Sion looks towards the south-west, being formed by a deep ravine, which in Scripture is denominated "Ge-Ben-Hennom," or the valley of the children of Hinnom; and that this valley, running from west to east, meets at the extremity of Mount Sion, the valley of Kedron, which extends from north to south. No authority is given by him for placing the valley of Hinnom on the south and west of Sion, any more than for making this valley the boundary of the city there. Both these facts are evidently deduced from the previous belief that the hill, now called Sion, is really the Sion of the Scriptures, rather than from any other data.

Pococke says, but also without citing his authority, that Mount

* Isaiah, vii. 3., and xxxvi. 2.

† Josephus, Jewish War, lib. v. c. iv. s. 2.

Calvary, and Gihon, and the Valley of Carcases, being mentioned as *north* of Mount Sion, and *without* the city, has made some people conclude that Mount Sion was to the *north* of the city." This Gihon he has inserted in his plan of Jerusalem as a *hill*; but the Scriptures lead us to infer that it was a *low-place*. In pursuance of the vow which David makes to Bathsheba, that her son Solomon should sit upon his throne after him, he is taken *down* to Gihon, and there anointed king over all Israel.* This same Gihon is proved by Cellarius to be the same with Siloah.† Now the valley which separated the upper from the lower city, called the Tyropæon, or Valley of the Cheesemongers, was still this same one, Gihon or Siloah, we have seen already from Josephus. This went along to the *south* of Moriah and Acra, and to the *north* of Sion.

There is great reason to believe, too, that the Hinnom of the Scriptures is no other than the Gehinnon or Gihon here mentioned. In dividing the land among the seven tribes of Israel, which had not yet received their inheritance, while the congregation were with the tabernacle at Shiloh, one of the borders of Benjamin is thus described: "And the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the Valley of the Giants, on the *north*, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi, on the *south*."‡ The Valley of Giants may possibly be a name alluding to the idols worshipped there, or may mean Rephaim, which is on the *north*, but its relative position to Jebusi is decisive. Jebusi, or the oldest Jerusalem, was on the *north* of Sion, occupying only the two hills of Acra and Moriah; and being commanded by the citadel which

* 1 Kings, ii. 28. et seq.

† Idem fons etiam *Gihon* גִּיחֹן vocatur, 1 Reg. i. 33. ubi Salomo rex inunctus dicitur: nam quod Ebraice est עלִנְחֹן in *Gihon*, sive ad *Gihon*; id in Targum Jonathanis est שִׁלְוָחַה in *Siloah*. Et ibi Kimchi adnotavit clare, גִּיחֹן חוּמָה שִׁלְוָחַה *Gihon est Siloah*. Et ad Esa. viii. 6. ubi *aqua Siloah leniter fluentes* memorantur, R. Salomo Isacides גִּיחֹן חוּמָה שִׁלְוָחַה fons est, & nomen ejus *Gihon*.—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. cap. 13. p. 333.

‡ Joshua, xviii. 16.

David erected there. These hills were separated by the deep valley of Gihon or Siloa, which can be no other than that of Hinnom, which thus, as it is said, passed by the *south* of Jebusi, but was, for the same reason, to the *north* of Sion.

This valley was called by another name, that of Topheth; for it is said, in the history of Josiah, “And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter pass through the fire to Molech.”* That this too was the same with the valley of Carcases, mentioned by Pococke, as situated to the *north* of Sion, another passage of the Scriptures renders equally clear. “And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart. Therefore, behold the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the Valley of the son of Hinnom, but the Valley of Slaughter, for they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place. And the *carcases* of this people shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth, and none shall fray them away.”†

It has been necessary to be thus minute in the authorities for fixing the relative position of this Valley of Hinnom with regard to Mount Sion, as upon that the identification of that mountain itself will chiefly rest. There are, as has been seen, several *eminences* which may, and have been confounded with each other; but there are only the *valleys* of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, and these are too distinct to be involved in the same difficulty. The first of these, forming the *eastern* boundary of the city, and dividing the Mount Moriah from the Mount of Olives, and the second separating the upper from the lower city, or Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, from Sion; and these are identified with the only *two valleys* found in the plan. We may proceed, therefore, now, with better lights in our search after the other principal positions.

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 10.

† Jeremiah, vii. 31—33.

"Let us first, then, seek after this Sion, which formed, on many considerations, the principal station throughout the whole of the history of this celebrated city. On the *south* of the modern town, at a distance of less than a quarter of a mile, and separated from it by the deep Valley of Hinnom, is a conspicuous mountain, completely commanding the whole of Jerusalem. "The top of this mountain," says Dr. Clarke, "is covered by ruined walls, and the remains of sumptuous edifices;" but he seems to be quoting from Sandys, who, he says, "noticed these, but did not hint at their origin;" for he observes afterwards, "Here again we are at a loss for intelligence; and future travellers will be aware of the immense field of enquiry which so many undescribed remains, belonging to Jerusalem, offer to their observation."* If the foundations and ruins, as of a citadel, may be traced all over this eminence, the probability is, that this was the real Mount Sion."

As far as my own examination of its summit went, no such ruins of walls and sumptuous edifices arose to my view; but I conceive the position of the mountain itself, with regard to the valley and the opposite hills, to be quite satisfactory, even if not a hewn stone could be found there; since we are told that Sion was ploughed like a field †, and that such was the desolation of the city, that not a single bird was to be seen flying about it. †

The first mention of this city is under the name of Salem, which signifies *peace*. After the battle of the kings in the Vale of Siddim, and the return of Abram from the slaughter, it is said, "And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine, and he

* Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 256.

† After the final destruction of the temple by Titus and Hadrian, a plough-share was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted, and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. — Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 100.

‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 54., from Jeremiah and St. Jerome. The prophet Micah thus denounces this rebellious city of the houses of Jacob and Israel. "Therefore, for your sake, shall Zion be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." Chap. iii. 12.

was the priest of the most high God." * This city is thought to have been founded in the year of the world 2023, and is said, at that time, to have occupied only the two hills of Moriah and Acra. † The chronology of Josephus makes it in the year 1955 before Christ, or 2559 of the world, when the event spoken of happened: "So Abram, when he had rescued the captive Sodomites, Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called the King's Dale, where Melchisedek, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies "the righteous king;" and such he was, without dispute; insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterwards called Salem, Jerusalem." ‡

It is said, that, fifty years after its foundation, it was taken by the Jebusites, the descendants of Jebus, a son of Canaan; that they erected on Mount Sion a fortress, to which they gave the name of Jebus, their father; and that the whole city then received the appellation of Jerusalem, which signifies, "Vision of Peace." Joshua, it is added, made himself master of the lower town of Jerusalem, in the first year after his arrival in the Land of Promise. The Jebusites still retained possession of the upper town or citadel of Jebus, and kept it till they were driven out by David, 834 years after their entrance into the city of Melchizedek. §

In the combination of the kings to fight against Joshua, after his taking of the city of Ai by stratagem, the Jebusite is enumerated among those of the league. Shortly after, another confederation is made, of which Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, is at the head, to fight against Gibeon, which had made peace with Joshua. || These five kings of the Amorites were defeated, and a detail is given of the operations against several cities afterwards; but no mention is made among them of Jerusalem. It may be inferred, however, that this was taken; for it is said, "And Joshua smote

* Genesis, xiv. 18.

† Josephus. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 10. 3.

|| Joshua, ix. 1. and x. 1.

‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 53.

§ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 53.

all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded.”*

Salem, Jebus, and Jerusalem seem, therefore, to have been all names of one place, and these distinct from Sion. In the marking out of the borders of the lot of Judah, it is said, “And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom, unto the *south* side of the Jebusite, which is Jerusalem. And the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom *westward*, which is at the end of the valley of the giants *northward*.”† “And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem, unto this day.”‡

It has been seen that there was a *Lower City* and an *Upper City*. When David first laid siege to Jerusalem, it is said that he took the *Lower City* by force, but the *citadel* still held out. This entering into the *Lower City* is meant, no doubt, when it is said in the Scriptures, “And the king and his men went to Jerusalem, unto the Jebusite, the inhabitants of the land. For it is afterwards said, “Nevertheless David took the strong-hold of Sion, the same is the city of David; so David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward.”§ This account of the taking of the *Lower City* first, and afterwards of the *citadel* on Mount Sion, is confirmed by Josephus with the same details. He adds, however, “David made buildings round about the *Lower City*, he also joined the *citadel* to it, and made it *one united city*; and, when he had encompassed all with walls, appointed Joab governor. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusite out of Jerusalem, and

* Joshua, x. 40.

† Joshua, xv. 18. This would agree with the vale of Rephaim.

‡ Judges, i. 21.

§ 2 Samuel, v. 6—9.

called it by his own name; the City of David. For under our forefather Abraham, it was called Salem or Solyma. But after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.*

Enough has been said to prove that Sion was a mountain *apart* from the hills on which the lower town of Jerusalem stood, divided from them by the valley of Hinnom, and overlooking the whole on the *south*. No other such mountain exists besides that now on the *south* of the same valley, totally excluded from the present site of the modern city; and this, with the united ones of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, on the *opposite* side of the valley, forming but *two* conspicuous hills, agrees perfectly with all the scriptural accounts, as well as with those of profane historians. †

All round the sides of this mountain, which I conceive to be the real Sion of the Scriptures, and particularly on that facing towards the valley of Hinnom, are numerous excavations, which may have been habitations of the living, but are more generally taken for sepulchres of the dead. Many of these fell under our own observation, as may be seen in the account of our excursion, round the city; but Dr. Clarke has described them still more fully. We did not perceive, with this traveller, any “marvellous art” in their

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 3. s. 2. It is the Cadytes of Herodotus, which D’Anville thinks to be the same with the Koddes (قدس شریف the holy and the noble,) of the present day. The one being the Greek name, the other the Syriac.

† Urbem arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam *duos colles* immensum editos claudabant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium, ad ictus patescerent. — Tacitus, lib. v. Hist. cap. 11. and 12.

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem enclosed the *two* mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three English miles. Towards the *south*, the upper town and the fortress of David were erected on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion; on the *north* side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. — Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 23. p. 99.

execution, nor “immensity” in their size; but these are terms of very indefinable import. They were numerous and varied, both in their sizes and forms; and I think, with that traveller, that of such a nature as these were indisputably the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ *, as has been proved by Shaw †, and elucidated by Quaresmius in his Dis-
 • •sertations concerning ancient Sepulchres. ‡

• It has been asserted that the cemeteries of the ancients were *universally* excluded from the precincts of their cities; and this is said to be evident from a view of all ancient cities in the East, as well as from the accounts left by authors concerning their mode of burial. This, however, though true of the Greek and Roman settlements, is not accurate when said of Hebrew towns; and that it was not the case at Jerusalem, there is the most unequivocal evidence; since we have accounts both of royal and of private tombs *within* the city. “So David slept with his fathers, and was buried *in* the city of David, which is Mount Sion.” § “And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers *in* the city of David.” || Though, it is added in another place, that, from the wickedness of his reign, and perhaps chiefly on account of his idolatry, though they buried him *in* the city, even *in* Jerusalem, yet “they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel.” ¶

Now, in the hill commonly called Sion, at Jerusalem, over one part of which the present wall of the city actually goes, there are no sepulchres known. Those found on the *north* of the city, and called the tombs of the kings, must have been *without* the town, and are seated almost in a plain. They are even now at a good distance from the northern boundary of the modern city, notwith-

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 550.

† Travels, p. 263. London, 1757.

‡ Vide cap. vii. (De forma et qualitate veterum Sepulchrorum), Elucid. T. S. Quaresmii, tom. ii. p. 127. Antw. 1639.

§ 1 Kings, ii. 10.

|| 2 Kings, xvi. 20.

¶ 2 Chronicles, xxviii. 27.

standing that the town has been thought to have encreased so much in that direction, as to include places formerly *without* it. Both their situation and their style of ornament make it highly probable that these were the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and the royal caverns of Josephus ; but it is, for the same reasons, quite certain that these were not the sepulchres of Israel and Judah *within* Mount Sion.

What then are the excavations around the sides of this mountain to be considered, if not those very sepulchres in question ? It is said by Dr. Clarke, in his account of these same caves, "The sepulchres we are describing, carry, in their very nature, satisfactory evidence of their being situated out of the *ancient* city as they are now out of the *modern*." * What this evidence is, that they carry in their very nature, it is not said ; but probably it is meant, by syllogistic inference, that, since the sepulchres of the ancients were *universally* excluded from the precincts of their cities, and since these are indisputably sepulchres, they must therefore have been situated somewhere *without* the town.

But the first assertion being ungrounded, at least as applied to Jerusalem, the inference is consequently unwarranted. It seems equally inconsistent, too, while endeavouring to identify this hill itself with Mount Sion, which was distinguished by the presence of the tabernacle, called by pre-eminence the Holy Hill, and enclosed as the city of David, within the common boundary, to make the excavations around its sides *without* the city, while every part of the hill itself was *within* ; yet these are the conclusions to which the argument set up by that writer necessarily lead.

In speaking of the hill commonly called Mount Sion, a portion of which is covered by the walls and buildings of the present Jerusalem, Pococke expresses the same disappointment that must be felt by every one in searching there for the sepulchres of the Jewish kings. "There were also," says he, "several remarkable things

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 551.

on Mount Sion, of which there are no remains, as the gardens of the kings, near the pool of Siloam, where Manasseh and Amon, Kings of Judah, were buried; and it is probable this was the fixed burying-place of the kings, it being the ancient eastern custom to bury in their own houses or gardens." * "And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza. And Amon was buried in his sepulchre, in the garden of Uzza, and Josiah his son reigned in his stead." †

If, after all this, there remained any further doubt on the identity of Mount Sion with this hill, on the *south* of the valley of Hinnom, it would be removed by the inscriptions which have been found deeply carved on the fronts and sides of the sepulchres there. One of these contains the following Greek words, legibly written; + ΘΗC AΓΙΑC CΙΩN, "Of the Holy Sion," in two places. ‡ The affix of the cross proves it to have been a Christian inscription, if it be coeval with the letters in point of age. The work of the excavation itself might, however, have been Jewish; and indeed, from its situation on Mount Sion, and its numerous subterranean chambers and apartments, it might have been one of the early sepulchres of the Israelites, used for Christian burial after Sion had become desolate. That of David, which the rest probably resembled in their general form, is described as having many rooms; for both Antiochus and Herod are said to have opened several of these, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered into their monuments. §

* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. part 1. p. 9.

† 2 Kings, xxi. 18—26. and Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. x. c. 3. 2.

‡ Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 553.

§ Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 15. 3.

Next to Sion, the hills of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, deserve our notice, and Calvary shall be considered apart.

Acra, which is said to be a Greek word, *Ἀκρά*, signifying "a high place," was, as we have seen, in the *western* quarter of the old Jerusalem, and had a citadel on it which commanded Mount Moriah on the *east*, until its summit was levelled, as has been described.* This is still the highest part of the modern Jerusalem; and on it stands the Latin Convent of the Terra Santa, the Castle of the Pisans, or Citadel of David, as it is vulgarly called, the Gate of Jaffa, &c. overlooking the rest of the town.

This hill was originally separated by a broad ditch from Mount Moriah; but we are expressly told by Josephus, that the Asmoneans subsequently filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple†; and this valley is distinctly marked, so as not to be mistaken for the Tyropæon, or Valley of Hinnom, mentioned afterwards as the Vale of Siloam. It is before coming to the low ground, which may mark the place of this valley now filled up, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; and on the low part itself that the present Jewish synagogue, with its subterranean divisions, is situated. But of course the valley, as being covered with buildings, is not to be seen in its original state.

Moriah had the whole of its summit occupied by the great Temple of Solomon, and the surface of this was even artificially extended to admit of the extensive courts that surrounded it. This is still preserved by the magnificent mosque of Omar, now covering the same ground, and, like the temple of old, forming by far the grandest and most prominent object throughout the city. Its facing toward Kedron, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and forming the *eastern* limit of the city looking towards the Mount of Olives, leaves no possible doubt of its identity.

* D'Anville's Dissertation, in Appendix to Chateaubriand's *Travel's*, vol. ii. p. 311.

† Josephus, *Jewish War*, b. 5. c. 4. s. 1.

Bezetha was called also Coenopolis, or the New City, and was a quarter on the *north* of Acra and Moriah, subsequently added, as Josephus says: "For as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger; and made that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the Tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley or ditch, which was dug on purpose." As this could not have gone beyond the Tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, the boundary of the city to the *north*, nor beyond the precincts of the temple to the *south*, the northern part of the present Jerusalem, with the wall and the Damascus gate, must occupy that quarter; I conceive, however, that instead of the city having *gained* in that direction, so as to admit the hill Calvary, (a supposition necessary to reconcile its present place with the hypothesis of its once being *without* the walls), it has *lost* as much here by the exclusion of all the space from the present walls to the Tomb of Helena, where the old ones passed on the *north*, as it has done in the opposite quarter by the total exclusion of Mount Sion on the *south*; and that, therefore, the present is little more than half the length of the old city.

Let us now direct our search toward the disputed place of Calvary. The place called Golgotha, and translated, "The place of a skull," has been by all writers supposed to have been *without* the precincts of the ancient Jerusalem; but there is no positive authority, that I am aware of, for such a position. It has been thought, first, that, as a place of execution, it would be held defiling; and next, as a place of burial, that it could not have been included within the walls. We are at least assured that the tomb in which Jesus was laid, was near to the place of his crucifixion. "Now, in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation-

day, for the sepulchre was *nigh at hand*.* It is fair to presume, that a respectable Jew, like Joseph of Arimathea, would hardly have a garden and a sepulchre newly hewn in the rock, in a place that was defiled by being one of common execution; and I think the very circumstance of these being there, is sufficient to induce a belief that it was *not* a place commonly devoted to so ignominious a purpose. All the Gospels represent Jesus as being hurried away by the multitude, who seized indiscriminately upon one of the crowd to bear his cross: "And when they were come to a place called Calvary, or Golgotha, there they crucified him between two thieves." None of them, however, speak of it either as being *without* the city, or as being a place of public execution, but leave one to infer that it was an unoccupied place, just pitched on for the purpose as they passed.

This name of Golgotha, or Golgotha, from being interpreted "a place of skulls," has been thought to imply, or, at least, to have been a fit name enough for any usual place of interment near to a great city. It is then asked, "But where was this place, which must have been very extensive?" and answered by the same persons, "Surely not *within* the city." It is proved, however, by these able critics, that Golgotha is not, as has been interpreted, "a place of skulls," but simply "a skull," in the Syro-Chaldaic language. They add, "St. Matthew renders it, 'a place of a skull,' and St. Mark and St. John give it nearly the same meaning. St. Luke, without mentioning Golgotha, writes, καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καλούμενον κρανίον, κ. τ. λ. 'And when they were come to a place called SKULL, &c.' It is evident, then, that St. Luke is the only one of the Evangelists who has strictly translated the word Golgotha, though he be the only one who has not introduced the name, for it does not signify κρανίον τοπος, "a place of a skull," but simply κρανιον, "a skull." †

This is consistent enough with the tradition, that here was found

* Gospel of St. John, xix. 40, 41.

† Edinburgh Review, Feb. 1813. vol. xxi. p. 147.

the skull of Adam, and with the opinion that, on this account, it received its Hebrew name*; though it would be at variance with that which assigns it this appellation, as an appropriate designation, either for the charnel-house of a place of public execution, or of an extensive cemetery. Reland, indeed, says, that the place was called Golgotha, from its resemblance to the shape of a human skull†; and this, from the nature of the rocky eminences seen about Jerusalem, may be, after all, as satisfactory a reason as any for the name. Traditions alone are but faint lights, either on historical or topographical researches; and when their import becomes questionable, by such verbal ambiguity as it is seen that the present one, regarding Adam's skull, involves, they are hardly to be regarded as of any weight. Names, descriptive of local feature, and marked resemblance to some object in shape, are, however, less equivocal; since these carry with them their own import to all beholders, and are likely to be preserved with as little corruption among the vulgar as among the learned.

Now, we know that the present rock, called Calvary, and enclosed within the precincts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, bears marks; in every part that is naked, of its having been a round nodule of rock standing above the common level of the surface, in such a way as the head of the great sphinx; at Gizeh, raises itself among the pyramids there, from the sands of the desert in which

* Venit enim ad me traditio quædam talis, quod corpus *Adæ* primi hominis ibi sepultum est, ubi crucifixus est Christus: ut sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo, qui dicitur Calvario locus, id est locus capitis, caput humani generis Adam resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, et resurrexit." Origen, Tract. 35. in Matt. See also Hieronym. in cap. 27. Matt. Cyrill et Basil, in cap. 5. Isaie. Athanasius in lib. de Passione Domini., &c. &c.

The cleft in the rock is seen also in the chapel of Adam below. At the east end of that chapel is the altar of Adam, exactly under the place where the cross was fixed; and the Greeks have some legend that Abraham's head was deposited there, his body being buried in Hebron.—Pococke, vol. ii. p. 16.

† Golgotham collem exiguum à formâ craniî humani dictum quam, referebat, notum est.—Palæstina Illustrata, lib. 3. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 860.

its body lies buried. It will be needless to go over the description of all the parts of this rock, now covered by the church. This may be seen on referring to the details already given of it in another place. But it may be as well to answer some of the principal objections made to the identity of this place, in the order in which they occur.

The change in the site of Jerusalem, but more particularly its increase or extension on the *north*, is not thought to have been sufficient to bring the hill of Calvary into the *middle* of the present town, if it was originally *without* the ancient city. It having been shown, however, that it cannot be inferred from the Scriptures to have been *without* the walls, either as a place of public execution, or as a common burial-place, the objection raised to its present site as founded on that belief, falls to the ground of itself.

Some persons, whose ideas of a Mount Calvary had led them to expect a hill as large as the Mount of Olives, or Mount Sion, have been disappointed at finding the rock shown for it to be so low and small. But on what authority is it called a *mount*? And to places of what different sizes and elevations is that term affixed! The present is a rock, the summit of which is *ascended* to by a steep flight of eighteen or twenty steps, from the common level of the church, which is equal with that of the street without; and besides this, you *descend* from the level of the church by thirty steps into the chapel of St. Helena, and by eleven more steps to the place where it was supposed that the cross, the crown of thorns, and the head of the spear was found, after lying buried in this place upwards of 300 years.*

There is therefore, perhaps, after all, sufficient height in this rock to justify its appellation of a mount, whatever be the other authority by which it may have been affixed.

Having endeavoured to answer some of the objections which are usually raised to the present site of Calvary, as included within

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 13.

the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, let us see on what foundation those rest which are also urged against the identity of that sepulchre itself.

The most commonly repeated of these, is, that the tomb of a wealthy and noble Jew would not be so *near* to a place defiled by public executions as the supposed sepulchre of Christ is to Calvary. But this, if the most common objection, is of all others the most easily answered, by the testimony of the Evangelist, who says, that “in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in that garden the sepulchre in which Jesus was laid,” repeating again that “the sepulchre was *nigh at hand*.”*

The critics say, in examining Dr. Clarke’s objections to the position of the Holy Sepulchre, which he calls “a mere delusion, and a monkish juggle,” “We must confess that the Doctor’s reasoning appears to us to be rather plausible. It must, we think, be conceded to him, first, that the site of the supposed sepulchre must have been *within* the walls of the ancient Jerusalem; secondly, that this would be *contrary* to the usual customs of Oriental nations; and, thirdly, that this supposed tomb *in no way* resembles the cryptæ excavated in rocks, in which the Jews were accustomed to bury their dead.”†.

The first of these concessions cannot be refused; the next, as an inference, has been answered already, in speaking of the Jewish custom of burying *within* the cities; but the last is a difficulty not so easily got over.

It has been said by Dr. Shaw, that the present tomb, shown as the sepulchre of Christ, is “a grotto above ground †,” having been hewn into this isolated form by St. Helena, for the sake, no doubt, of bestowing on it more of decoration, and making it more conspicuously sacred than could otherwise be done. Whether this be true or not, in point of fact, nothing is more easy of belief, from its practicability. It is said, that the whole of the rock was

* Gospel of St. John, xix. 41.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 145.

‡ Ibid. 148.

hewn away around it, so as to let it stand isolated in the centre of the church, and that it was afterwards shaped into form, and cased with marble, and otherwise decorated, as we now see it. This is certain, that the rock now enclosed within the church, whether it be Calvary or not, has been hewn artificially into the form which it now possesses, in many parts at least, and more particularly in the space between what is called the summit of Calvary, and what is called the tomb. The top of the first of these is many feet higher than the highest part of the last, so that the tomb would be much below the top of the original hill. A fissure is shown in the rock, as the cleft produced by the earthquake at the crucifixion. It was seen by Maundrell, and thought by him to be natural. It is not true, however, that it is upon the same level with the sepulchre, as asserted, though if it were, it would only prove that the cleft had been of very moderate depth. In one place, this is called by Dr. Clarke “an *accidental* fissure, which had already been the object of traditionary superstition *; and in another, when he says, “they say this happened at the crucifixion,” he asks, “who shall presume to contradict the tale?” He talks of the “*naïveté* of the tradition,” and of “a farrago of absurdities,” and “all this trumpery †,” in a way that would almost lead one to infer that he doubted the facts of the story altogether. But surely it is not the calling this tomb of the Living God, “a dusty fabric, standing like a huge pepper-box in the midst of the church ‡,” that can disprove its having contained the lifeless corpse of the Great Creator of the universe.

In animadverting on the supposed absurdity of conceiving that the rock around the sepulchre had been hewn away (which is nevertheless not only practicable, but rendered highly probable by appearances there,) it is asked, “If there had been originally any hill, or rock, wherein the real sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was hewn for its Jewish possessor, is it likely, or was it possible,

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 563.

† Ibid. p. 546.

‡ Ibid. p. 543.

that every trace of it should be swept away? Can there be any reason assigned for supposing that Helena would have destroyed what every Christian must have been so anxious to preserve? that, in the construction of a church to commemorate the existence of the tomb, she would have levelled and cut away not only the sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary? This is so little in consonance with common reason, that it is impossible to allow the old tale its ordinary credit." * First of all, however, it is not true that the sepulchre itself, and the whole of Mount Calvary, is levelled and cut away, which may be seen from other parts of this traveller's own testimony; and even if it had, it would be quite as much in consonance with common reason as any other part of this old lady's conduct, in performing a pilgrimage at eighty, or indeed, perhaps, as reasonable as performing one at all.

To conclude, then, this spot shown as Calvary may, for the reasons already assigned, be still considered as the place of the crucifixion of our Saviour, until more unanswerable objections be raised to it than have yet been urged. The sepulchre may also have contained his body, since it is within a consistent distance of the mount or hill where the Evangelist places it. It has apparently been separated from the rock by being hewn round, and though cased with marble, and adorned on the outside, is only of the ordinary size of a small sepulchral cavern within. And, lastly, it is in a rock where other hewn sepulchres were, as arose to our own observation in descending to the place where the cross is said to have been found.

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 555.



CHAPTER XVII.

FROM JERUSALEM TO JERICHO.

JANUARY 28th. Our preparations for the prosecution of our journey were at length all completed. The route we had marked out to ourselves, was, to cross the Jordan, and go through Jerash and Gamala, two cities, of whose ruins we had heard a great deal in that quarter, Mr. Banks intending to go off from the latter to Nazareth, and I to pass through Tiberias, on my way towards Damascus and Aleppo. As no one could be prevailed upon to lend us animals on hire for this journey, from its being out of the

common caravan road, we were compelled to purchase horses for that purpose. This we effected without much difficulty, and at a very moderate rate: a good travelling horse, with all its equipment in common furniture, costing about four hundred piastres, or less than twenty pounds sterling.

Our party was composed of Mr. Bankes, Mohammed, his Albanian interpreter, and myself; and our guides were two Arabs of the tribe of Zaliane, one the father of the boy released through Mr. Bankes's interest, and the other this father's friend. Our servants were both left behind at Jerusalem, from the difficulty of taking them with us; my own, a native of Tocat, speaking only Turkish well, and the other, a Portuguese, understanding neither Turkish nor Arabic. The former received a compensation for his services, and a final discharge, from his not being likely to be of further use to me in my way, and the latter was to repair to Nazareth, there to await the arrival of his master.

We were now all dressed in the costume of the country; Mr. Bankes as a Turkish soldier, Mohammed in his own garb as an Arnaout, and I as a Syrian Arab. Our guides wore their own dresses, as Bedouins of the desert. We were each mounted on a horse of our own, there being no animals for baggage, as each person carried beneath and behind him whatever belonged to himself. We were armed but poorly; from the advice of our guides to take with us nothing that could excite the cupidity of strangers, since they wished us rather to depend on our poverty for passing unmolested, than on our force or numbers for defence; and even they themselves carried each a long lance only, rather as a part of their habitual equipment, than as placing much reliance on its use. We took with us a small portion of bread, dates, tobacco, and coffee, and a supply of corn for our horses, with a leathern bottle of water suspended from the saddle, and these completed our outfit.

After discharging all the numerous claims that were made on our purses, by the host of servants and others belonging to the

convent, and paying to the Superior of it for the expences of our living there, at the rate of a Spanish dollar per day, we received their parting benedictions, as we mounted to quit them, amid a crowd assembled round us in the court.

It was about nine o'clock when we left Jerusalem by the Bethlehem gate; turning to the right from this, as we went out of the city, we continued along by the northern wall. In our way, we noticed a fine marble sarcophagus, highly sculptured, and resembling the broken ones seen at the tombs of the kings: it seemed to be used by the way-side as a watering-trough for cattle. The north-east angle of the city wall, had a romantic appearance as we passed it, a portion of the wall there going over a high bed of rock, which presents a cliff to the passenger below.

Descending from the brow of the range of hills on which Jerusalem is seated, and going about north-easterly, we passed through the higher or northern part of the valley of Kedron, leaving Bethany, Bethpage, and the Mount of Olives, on our right; or to the south of us.

In about three hours from the time of our quitting the gates of Jerusalem, having gone the whole of the way over stony and rugged ground, we reached an encampment of the tribe of Arabs to which our guides belonged. There were only six small tents of coarse hair-cloth, and in each of them not more than half-a-dozen persons. The Arabs of this tribe, extending their range over all the country between the Jordan and Jerusalem, branch off into small parties, to obtain pasture for their camels and goats. It was thus that this party occupied a small hollow of the land, in which were a few shrubs very sparingly scattered over the surface, and hardly sufficient to furnish food for their flocks for more than a few days.

We halted here to receive the pledge of protection from our guides, by eating bread and salt with them beneath their own tents. A meal was prepared for us of sour milk and warm cakes, by the wives of our companions, and coffee was served to us by their

children, while we sat around a fire of brush-wood kindled for the occasion. The appearance of the Arabs who composed our party at this halt, was much more different from those who inhabited towns, than that of the peasantry of our own country is from its citizens. In these tented dwellers, there is seen an air of independence, mixed, perhaps, with something of ferocity, that is never to be witnessed, even in the mussulmauns of large cities; and a more robust, though less pampered frame, with deeply browned complexions, and piercing eyes, gave them altogether a brave and manly appearance.

We remounted, and quitted this encampment at one o'clock, though the dangers that were talked of during our entertainment, as likely to beset us in the way, were sufficient to have deterred persons who were not very firmly bent on their purpose from proceeding. In half an hour, going now more easterly, we came to a very narrow pass, cut through the hill, in a bed of hard rock. There was here an old fort, which had once guarded this passage, but was now deserted, and close by were the ruins of a large square building belonging to it. This is too far distant from Jerusalem to be the Anathath spoken of by Josephus, as the country of Jeremiah, that place being fixed at twenty furlongs, whereas this is at least from twelve to fourteen miles. It corresponds more accurately with the position given to Ephraim, in D'Anville's map, or even of Adommin, a little to the southward of it; but of these no details are given by which we could ascertain to which, or whether indeed to either of them, this site might be assigned; nor did we learn that it had any name by which our conjectures might have been assisted.

After going through the pass, we descended again into deeper valleys, travelling sometimes on the edges of cliffs and precipices, which threatened destruction on the slightest false step. The scenery all around us was grand and awful, notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the barren rocks that every where met our

view ; but it was that sort of grandeur which excited fear and terror, rather than admiration.

The whole of this road from Jerusalem to the Jordan,* is held to be the most dangerous about Palestine, and, indeed, in this portion of it, the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder, and on the other, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. It was partly to prevent any accident happening to us in this early stage of our journey, and partly, perhaps, to calm our fears on that score, that a messenger had been despatched by our guides to an encampment of their tribe near, desiring them to send an escort to meet us at this place. We were met here accordingly, by a band of about twenty persons on foot, all armed with matchlocks, and presenting the most ferocious and robber-like appearance that could be imagined. The effect of this was heightened by the shouts which they sent forth from hill to hill, and which were re-echoed through all the valleys, while the bold projecting crags of rock, the dark shadows, in which every thing lay buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigned around, presented a picture that was quite in harmony throughout all its parts.

It made us feel most forcibly, the propriety of its being chosen as the scene of the delightful tale of compassion which we had before so often admired for its doctrine, independently of its local beauty.*

One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who

* "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance, there came down a certain priest that way, and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side: But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him." St. Luke, x, 30—34.

rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn ; one must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horse's hoofs rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys ; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the Good Samaritan can be perceived. Here, pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful aspect of every thing around. Here, the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the Priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the Good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature.

After about three hours' travel from the camp at which we had halted, and little more than six hours' journey from Jerusalem, in nearly a north-eastern direction, we came upon the ruins of an aqueduct, leading from the foot of a hill towards the plain. The channel for the water was lined on the inside with plaster and gravel, like the aqueduct at Tyre. Close by it were the remains of a fine paved way, with a single column, now fallen ; probably one of the mile-stones on the high-road from Jerusalem to Jericho.

We caught from hence the first view of the Great Plain, as it is called, or of the Valley of Jordan. We could see, too, the point at which that river emptied itself into the Dead Sea, after pursuing its serpentine course through the plain, in nearly a south-east direction. The sea itself is bounded by high mountains, both on the east and the west, and its surface is generally unruffled, from the hollow of the bason in which it lies scarcely admitting the free

passage necessary for a strong breeze.* It is, however, for the same reason, subject to whirlwinds or squalls of short duration ; but, at the present moment, its surface exhibited a dead calm, and its waters gave back a whitish glare, from the reflection of the sun on them.

Still descending, we came, in half an hour, to other portions of aqueducts, originally perhaps connected with these, which we had seen above. Here, however, we noticed the addition of arched or vaulted reservoirs for the water, at the termination of the channel ; so that it was conveyed to these as places of general store, rather than to any actual town. Indeed, we saw no vestiges which might lead us to infer that any large settlement existed on the immediate spot, though it may be presumed that there were once dwellers near, for whose convenience these reservoirs were constructed.

We conceived it probable that these aqueducts might have been connected with the fountain which was near to Jericho, the waters of which were sweetened by the Prophet Elisha. The fact of the aqueducts being found here, on the foot of the hills, is sufficient to prove that water was at least so scarce an article as to render expensive and artificial means necessary to its preservation. This, too, would be perfectly consistent with such local details as are left us regarding the country immediately about Jericho.

When Elijah was taken up in a chariot and horses of fire, and carried by a whirlwind to heaven, leaving only his mantle behind him, and when the fifty men of Jericho had sought him on the mountains and high places where they thought he might have dropped, but returned without success to this place, where Elisha himself staid ; the Scriptures say, " Now the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth, but the water is nought, and the ground barren."

Josephus, after observing that the Great Plain here is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan, says, " Notwithstanding

which, there is a fountain by Jericho that runs plentifully; and is very fit for watering the ground. It arises near the old city; where Joshua, the son of Nane, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war." He then mentions the report of its waters being formerly of such a nature as to destroy every thing over which it ran; but by the virtue of Elisha's throwing into it a little salt, accompanied by a prayer, the pouring out a milk drink-offering, and joining to this the proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, the waters became not only sweet and wholesome, but possessed afterwards so fertilizing a quality as to be superior to all others, and to occasion the writer to say, after enumerating the benefits of its stream, "that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken."

At the present moment, even such channels as were evidently those of streams and torrents, were destitute of water, from the long-continued drought that had prevailed; so that we could say nothing regarding the peculiar qualities of any of the fountains in this neighbourhood; and, probably from the same cause, the plain here, at the foot of the hills, was parched and barren.

We had scarcely quitted the foot of these hills, to go eastward over the plain, before we came upon the ruins of a large settlement, of which sufficient remained to prove it to have been a place of consequence, but no one perfect building existed. Some of the more striking objects among the ruins were several large tumuli, evidently the work of art, and resembling, in size and shape, those of the Greek and Trojan heroes on the plains of Ilium. Near to this was also a large square area, enclosed by long and regular mounds, uniform in their height, breadth, and angle of slope, and seeming to mark the place of enclosing walls now worn into mounds. Besides these, the foundations of other walls in detached pieces, portions of ruined buildings of an indefinable nature, shafts of columns, and a capital of the Corinthian order, were seen scattered about over the widely-extended heaps of this ruined city.

The site of Jericho has been hitherto fixed by all authorities at Rihhah, the village east of this, and nearer to the banks of the Jordan, where it is equally acknowledged, by these same authorities, that no remains are found by which to identify the position. But from the presence of the ruins described on this spot, and its more accurately agreeing in distance and local position to that assigned to Jericho by Josephus, there is great reason to believe that here, and not at Rihhah, its remains are to be sought for.

In the history of the Jewish war, after the descent of Vespasian from Neapolis to Jericho, where he was joined by one of his commanders named Trajan, the historian thus describes the position of this city. "It is situate in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limit of the lake Asphaltites southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness." * In another place, when speaking of the city of Jericho, he adds, "This place is 150 furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony. But that as far as the lake Asphaltites lies low, though it be equally desert and barren." †

Nothing can more accurately apply, in all its particulars, than this description does to the site of the present ruins, assumed here as those of the ancient Jericho, whether it be in its local position, its boundaries, or in its distance from Jerusalem on the one hand, and from the Jordan on the other. The spot lies at the very foot of the barren hills of Judea, which may be said literally to overhang it on the west; and these mountains are still as barren, as rugged, and as destitute of inhabitants as formerly, throughout their whole range, from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. The distance, by the computation of our journey in time, amounted to about six hours, or nearly twenty-miles; and we

* De Bello. Jud. l. iv. 8. 2.

† Ibid. l. iv. 8. 3.

were now, according to the reports of our guides, at the distance of two hours, or about six miles from the banks of the Jordan.

From the very low level of the plain in which Jericho is seated, the palm-tree might find sufficient heat to flourish here, while every other part of Judea would be unfavourable to its growth; and the existence of these trees in this valley, at a very early age, was distinguished as such a peculiarity, compared with the incapacity of the other parts of the land to produce them, that Jericho itself was often called, "The city of Palms." In the view of the Promised Land which Moses was permitted to have from the top of Nebo or Pisgah, over against Jericho, "the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Napthali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, *the city of palm-trees*, unto Zoar." * It is mentioned, by the same name, when "the children of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law, went up out of *the city of palm-trees*, with the children of Judah, into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad." † And again, when God "strengthened Eglon the king of Moab against Israel, because they had done evil in the sight of the Lord, he gathered unto them the children of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and possessed *the city of palm-trees*." ‡

It is more frequently called Jericho, however, and under this name it is mentioned in the curious details which are given of its reconnoitre by the spies, who were entertained in the house of Rahab the harlot, and of its capture, and the falling down of its walls at the sound of the seven trumpets of rams' horns. After this easy conquest, it is said, that "they utterly destroyed all that

* Deut. xxxiv. 1—3.

† Judges, i. 16.

‡ Ibid. iii. 12, 13.

Jericho יְרִיחוֹ, *Ispixō*, Luna, vel mensis, aut odor ejus. Civitas opulentissima in tribu Benjamin, ab Jerosolymis CL et à Jordane LX distans stadiis, (Num. xxii. 1. Jos. ii. 1.) quam ædificavit, Hiel de Bethel, 1 Sam. xvi. 34. 2 Par. xxviii. 15. Matt. xx. 29. Luke, xviii. 35. and xix. 1. Nobilius palmetis, et balsami viridariis. Unde etiam civitas palmarum appellatur, Deut. xxxiv. 3. עִיר הַתְּמָרִים—Cenomasticum Sacrum, p. 172. ed. 1686.

was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword. But they saved the life of Rahab the harlot, and delivered her father, her mother, her brethren, her kindred, and all that she had. And though they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein, yet the silver and the gold, and the vessels of brass, and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord.* Every habitation was destroyed, and Joshua adjured them at the same time, saying, "Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it."†

It was, however, again rebuilt, notwithstanding this denunciation, though it was effected in Ahab's wicked reign. "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun."‡ It afterwards continued to be inhabited, as we find Elisha the prophet living there when Elijah was taken up to heaven from him in a chariot of fire.§

In much later times, when Pompey marched from Damascus with his Roman legions and Syrian auxiliaries, against Aristobulus, he came down by way of Pella, Scythopolis, and Corea, in the valley of Jordan, as far as Jericho, where he pitched his camp for a night, and marched on the following morning against Jerusalem.¶ Even then, the fertility of the surrounding country, the peculiarity of its productions, and the difference of its climate from that of all the rest of Judea, were particularly noticed. "Now here," says the historian, "is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm-trees, besides the balsam-tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice which drops down like tears."¶¶

* Joshua, vi. 20—24.

† 1 Kings, xiii. 34.

¶ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiv. c. iv. 1.

† Ibid. ver. 26.

§ 2 Kings, ii. 5.

¶ De Bello, l. i. vii. 6.

The balsam produced by these trees was of such consequence as to be noticed by almost all the writers who treated of Judea. Pliny says, " This tree, which was peculiar to Juria, or the vale of Jericho, was more like a vine than a myrtle. Vespasian and Titus carried each one of them to Rome as rarities, and Pompey boasted of bearing them in his triumph. When Alexander the Great was in Juria, a spoonful of the balm was all that could be collected on a summer's day; and in the most plentiful year, the great royal park of these trees yielded only six gallons, and the smaller one only one gallon. It was consequently so dear that it sold for double its weight in silver. But from the great demand for it, adulteration soon followed, and a spurious sort grew into common use at a less price. * Justin, indeed, makes it the source of all the national wealth; for, in speaking of this part of the country, he says, " The wealth of the Jewish nation did arise from the opobalsamum, which doth only grow in those countries; for it is a valley like a garden which is environed with continual hills, and as it were enclosed with a wall. The space of the valley containeth two hundred thousand acres, and it is called Jericho. In that valley there is a wood, as admirable for its fruitfulness as for its delight, for it is intermingled with palm-trees and opobalsamum. The trees of the opobalsamum have a resemblance like to fir-trees, but they are lower, and are planted and husbanded after the manner of vines. On a set season of the year they do sweat balsam. The darkness of the place is besides as wonderful as the fruitfulness of it. For although the sun shines no where hotter in the world, there is naturally a moderate and perpetual gloominess of the air. *

The situation, boundaries, and local features of this valley are accurately given in these details; and both the heat and the gloominess were observed by us, though darkness, in the sense in which we generally use it, would be an improper term to apply to this gloom.

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. c. 25.

† Justin's Hist. l. 36.

In the estimate of the revenues which Cleopatra derived from the region about Jericho, which had been given to her by Antony, and which Herod afterwards formed of her, it is said, "This country bears that balsam which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there only." * And in the account of Sheba, Queen of Ethiopia, visiting Solomon, from a desire to see a person so celebrated for his wisdom, it is said that she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones; "and they say," adds the Jewish historian, "that we are indebted for the root of that balsam, which our country still bears, to this woman's gift." †

It was singular enough that a gift brought by a Queen of Ethiopia to the wealthiest monarch of Judea, should have fallen to the lot of a Queen of Egypt, as given to her by one of the most extravagant even among Roman lovers. Philosophy and wisdom is said to have been the object of Sheba's visit to Judea; Cleopatra's pursuits were of a very different kind, as may be learned from Josephus.

At the present time there is not a tree of any description, either of palm or balsam, and scarcely any verdure or bushes to be seen about the site of this abandoned city; but the complete desolation with which its ruins are surrounded, is undoubtedly rather to be attributed to the cessation of the usual agricultural labours on the

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xv. c. iv. 2.

† Ibid. l. viii. c. vi. 6.

Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem; præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ. Palmetis proceritas et decor: balsamum modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intumuit, si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venæ; fragmine lapidis, aut testa aperiuntur. Humor in usu medentium est.—Tacitus, Hist. l. v. c. 6. de hac regione.

Hiericus planities est, montibus circumdata, qui alicubi instar theatri ad illam declinant. Ibi vero palmetum est, cui aliæ stirpes frugiferae permixtæ sunt, palmis vero abundans centum stadiorum spatio, irriguum totum et habitationibus plenum. Ibi regia est et balsami paradisus: quæ planta aromatica est, cujus succus tenaci lacti similis in conchis coagulatur, in pretio est propterea, quod tantum ibidem nascitur.—Strabo, l. xvi. p. 522.

Judæa reliqua dividetur in toparchias decem, quo decernis ordine: Hiericuntem palmetis consitam, fontibus irriguam, etc.—Plinius, l. v. c. 14.

soil, and to the want of a distribution of water over it by the aqueducts, the remains of which evince that they were constructed chiefly for that purpose, than to any radical change in the climate or the soil.

On leaving these ruins, we thought that, in their greatest extent, they did not cover less than a square mile ; but its remains were not sufficiently marked to enable us to form a plan of it. As we continued our way across the plain to the eastward, the same parched soil appeared over every part of it, until after about an hour's ride at a moderate pace, going over a distance of perhaps four miles, in nearly an easterly direction, we reached the village of Rihhah.

As we rode through this, we perceived it to be a settlement of about fifty dwellings, all very mean in their appearance, and every one fenced in front with thorny bushes, while a barrier of the same kind encircled the whole of the town. This was one of the most effectual defences which they could have raised against the incursions of horse Arabs, the only enemies whom they have to dread, as neither will the horse approach to entangle himself in these thickets of briar, nor could the rider, even if he dismounted, get over them, or remove them to clear a passage, without assistance from some one within.

There was a fine brook flowing by the village, and emptying itself into the Jordan, the nearest part of which river is thought to be about three miles off; and from this brook the inhabitants are supplied with sufficient water for the irrigation of their lands, and for all domestic purposes. The grounds immediately in the vicinity of the village, are therefore fertilized by this stream, and are cultivated with dourra, Indian corn, rice, and onions, the soil and climate here resembling in many particulars that of Egypt.

This place, which is called Rihhah, or "Odour," in modern Arabic, and "Perfume" in the older dialect, has been thought to be on the site of Jericho, from its retaining nearly the same name, and exactly the same signification as the name of the harlot, who

entertained the spies of Joshua here ; Rahhab, in Hebrew, meaning also “ a sweet smell.”* It would agree in the distance assigned to Jericho from the Jordan, and from Jerusalem, with sufficient accuracy, considering the want of exactness in ancient measurements, had there been any remains to induce an opinion of their being really those of that city ; but of this it shows no marks. The only things pointed out here, are a modern square tower, of Mohammedan work, which they pretend to be the house of Zaccheus, and an old tree into which they say he climbed up to obtain a sight of Jesus as he passed. This tree is not a sycamore, however, as the Evangelist describes that to have been, but a thorny one of the acacia family, so common in Egypt.

The population is all Mohammedan, and consists of from forty to fifty families only. Their habits are those of Bedouins and shepherds, rather than of cultivators of the soil ; this last duty, indeed, when performed at all, is done chiefly by the women and children, as the men roam the plains on horseback, and live by robbery and plunder, which forms their chief and most gainful occupation. They are governed by a Sheick, whose influence among them is rather like that of a father of a family than of a magistrate ; and as even fathers can sometimes play the tyrant, so does this chief, though there is always this check on his conduct, that he owes his authority to the sufferance of his people, and could be not only removed from his power, but even deprived of his life, by declamation, on his surpassing the bounds which fortunately are set even to despotism.

This place is celebrated by many Mohammedan authors, as the “ Dwelling of the Giants,” and tradition assigns the building of its seven walls to seven separate kings.† Its deliverer, or its destroyer, Joshua, has been held by some among both Jews and Mohammedans, to have been a person elevated above human nature, and partaking

* رِيح, plural of رِيح, odour, fragrance. Rich. vol. i. p. 488.

† Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. i. p. 248.

in some degree of the divine, from the splendour of his victories. They conceive that he was sent by Jehovah to dispossess the giants of this their strong-hold and principal abode. According to the author of the *Tarikh Montekheb*, this first battle of Joshua in the Promised Land was fought on a Friday evening. As the night approached, and by the ordinances of Moses it was forbidden to labour on the Sabbath, he implored the Almighty to lengthen out the day, that he might have time to finish the combat. It was then, continues the same pious author, that by the order of the Divine Omnipotence, the sun was stayed in his course, and rested an hour and a half beyond his usual time above the horizon, giving to Joshua ample time to cut in pieces the army of his enemies. He adds, that this day having thus become longer than any other, by an hour and a half, enjoyed by this means a prerogative, which no other day besides itself could presume to; and he assures us, that this was one of the reasons why the Mussulmans had chosen Friday, above all the other days of the week, for their holy day, instead of the Sabbath of the Jews. *

These traditions are preserved here in full force, with some amplifications of detail, as we had an opportunity of noticing in the conversation of the party to whom our guides had introduced us, at the house of the chief. These men, perceiving that we were strangers in the land, were glad to gratify our curiosity, and flatter their own vanity at the same time, by recounting to us the stories of which this place of their abode had been the scene.

The house, in which we had taken up our quarters for the night; was one belonging to the Sheick of the village, but at present it was not occupied by him. The whole male population of the place that was now in it, however, crowded around us to make a thousand enquiries regarding our journey, the motives which led to it, and the end it was to accomplish. We insisted that we were going to Damascus, and assured them that our having taken this

* *Bibliothèque Orientale*, tom. ii. p. 330.

route to go up on the east side of the Jordan, rather than having followed the more direct road of the caravans by Nablous, was in the hope of being less interrupted by the Bedouins of these parts, than by the insolent soldiery of the Pashalics, who were now in great commotion on account of the expected changes in Syria.

Our tale was believed, though our hopes of passing securely were somewhat damped, by learning that, only on the preceding evening, a party of five hundred horsemen, from the Arabs of this same tribe, had halted at Rihhah on their way to the northward, whither they had gone on a plundering excursion, intending to sweep the whole range of the valley of Jordan. Mr. Bankes and his attendants had slept in this same house, and with nearly the same party as were here now, on his return from a visit to the shores of the Dead Sea; and there then seemed to him to have been a consultation among them, about the detention of their guests, either with a view to plunder them, or to obtain a ransom for their liberation. In the present instance, however, they treated us with all the hospitality for which the Arabs are so celebrated; and though our own fears might have conjured up appearances of an unfavourable nature, or given to common incidents an interpretation which they would not, under any other circumstances, have borne, we relied on the pledges of our conductors. After a rude but hearty meal, we stretched ourselves along on straw mats, by the side of the cattle which were driven in among us for shelter, and surrounded by at least twenty of our visitors under the same shed, we soon sunk to sleep.



CHAPTER XVIII.

PASSAGE OF THE JORDAN.

JANUARY 29th. We were stirring before the day had clearly opened, and after a morning pipe and coffee, served to us by our entertainers, we mounted our horses at sun-rise, and continued our journey.

On quitting Rihhah, we pursued a northerly course, keeping still on the western side of the Jordan. In our way, we noticed a thorny tree, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and is said to be found on both banks of the river. Pococke calls

this the zoccum-tree, and says, "The bark of it is like that of the holly; it has very strong thorns, and the leaf is something like that of the barbary-tree; it bears a green nut, the skin or flesh over it is thin, and the nut is ribbed and has a thick shell and a very small kernel; they grind the whole, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam. But I take it to be the Myrobalanum, mentioned by Josephus as growing about Jericho *, especially as it answers very well to this fruit, described by Pliny as the produce of that part of Arabia which was between Judea and Egypt." †

The opinion that this was the tree from the branches of which Christ's crown of thorns was made, is very prevalent among the Christians of these parts; but our Mohammedan guides professed their ignorance of this matter. Among them, however, it must have some traditional celebrity, as rosaries or chaplets are made of its berries, and sold at the door of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, both to Christians and Mohammedans. Those for the former have a cross at the top, and those for the latter consist of ninety-nine in number, divided by beads of a different colour into three parts, containing thirty-three in each, which is the only difference between them; and each is equally esteemed by the respective purchasers.

As we proceeded to the northward, we had on our left a lofty peak of the range of hills which border the plain of Jordan on the west, and end in this direction the mountains of Judea. This peak is conceived to be that to which Jesus was transported

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8.

† Myrobalanum Troglodytis, et Thebaidi, et Arabiæ, quæ Judæam ab Ægypto determinat, commune est, nascens unguento, ut ipso nomine apparet. Quo item indicatur et glandem esse arboris, heliotropio quam dicemus inter herbas, simili folio. Fructus magnitudinē avellanæ nucis. Ex his in Arabia nascens Syriaca appellatur. Sunt qui Æthiopicam iis præferant glandem nigram. E diverso Arabicam viridem ac tenuiorem, et quoniam sit montuosa spissiolem. Unguentarii autem tantum cortices premunt: medici nucleos tundentes affusa eis paulatim calida aqua. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 21.

by the devil during his fast of forty days in the wilderness, "after which he was an hungred." *

Nothing can be more forbidding than the aspect of these hills: not a blade of verdure is to be seen over all their surface, and not the sound of any living being is to be heard throughout all their extent. They form, indeed, a most appropriate scene for that wilderness in which the Son of God is said to have "dwelt with the wild beasts, while the angels ministered unto him." †

In this mountain of the temptation, there are many grottoes of the early anchorites, which were visible to us as we passed. The grottoes below are in long ranges, consisting each of several separate chambers; those higher up are in general isolated ones, all in the cliff of the rock; and on the summit of the hill itself is a small Greek chapel, erected on the supposed spot of the temptation. The grottoes were all formerly inhabited, and one of the uppermost of them, which is approached by a flight of steps cut out of the solid rock behind the immediate front of the cliff, has still its decorations of Greek saints painted on the walls, with the colours perfectly fresh. All are, however, now deserted, and the enthusiasm which, in past ages, filled these cells with hermits, is now scarcely sufficient to induce Christian pilgrims even to visit them.

While we were talking of the scriptural and traditional history of the holy places within our view, as the country here abounds with them, our guides mentioned to us, that, about a day's journey to the southward of Jericho, and, like it, seated at the foot of the mountains of Judea, was a place called Merthah, supposed to be the site of a city of the giants, and, consequently, of very great

* St. Matthew, iv. 2.

† "And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine.

St. Luke, iv. 5—7.

† St. Mark, i. 13.

antiquity. They added, that there were at this place many sepulchral caves, from which human skulls and bones had been taken out, that were at least three times the size of those of the human race at the present day. They offered the unanswerable testimony of their having seen these with their own eyes, and handled them with their own hands, so that we were reduced to the necessity of believing that they had really deceived themselves in these particulars, or that they had invented the falsehoods, or that these were really the remains of the skeletons of that race of giants which both sacred and profane history place in this country.

It is probable, from the reported situation of Mertlia, or Mersha, as one of our guides pronounced it, that it was the Maresha or Marissa of Josephus, seemingly both one place, and corresponding to this in position. Mareshah is first enumerated among the strong and large cities which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, built in the tribe of Judah, in contradistinction to those which he also built in the tribe of Benjamin.* It is soon afterwards again mentioned as a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah; and it was at this place that Zerah, the king of Ethiopia, halted, when he came with an army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, to go up against Asa, the king of Jerusalem.† Marissa, too, was in the same tribe of Judah, and, from all the details given of it, was probably the same place, as Cellarius has considered it to be. When Judas Maccabeus, and Jonathan his brother, defeated Georgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, at that place, which is near the sea-coast on the west, they are said to have pursued the fugitives of the defeated army to the very borders of Judea, naturally in the opposite quarter, or on the east, and there to have taken from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set its towers on fire, and to have burnt the country of the

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 10. s. 1.

† Ibid. l. viii. c. 12. s. 1.

foreigners, and the city Marissa.* This same city is said, in another place, to have been in the middle of the country, in distinguishing it from the cities of the sea-coast.†

D'Anville has placed the sites of these as of two separate places, near to a city, which, as he himself says, we do not find mentioned until after the ruin of the second temple of Jerusalem, but which, under the Greek name of Eleutheropolis, or the Free City, appears to have presided over a great district, though it is now unknown.‡ Cellarius thinks it to have been somewhere near the sea-coast of Judea, from its being enumerated with Keilah and Achzib, in the catalogue of the cities of Judah.§ In a passage of Eusebius, quoted by St. Jerome, it is mentioned with Eleutheropolis; but as it is still considered to be the Maresha, or Marissa, of Josephus, as before described, the probability still is, that it was in the *central*, or towards the *eastern* borders of Judea, and near the spot where this Mertha, or Mersha, is said to be, about a day's journey, or thirty miles, to the south of Jericho.

This, too, was in the part of the country reputed to abound with giants, as is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures. Josephus, in describing the taking of Hebron, whose inhabitants, according to the Jewish mode of warfare, were all put to the sword, says, that in this part of the country there were, till then, left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men, he adds, are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. "Elia and Arihhah, or Jerusalem and Jericho," according to the Arabian writers, were the two capital cities of this holy portion of the globe. In this province alone, they say that there were a thousand towns, each of which was furnished with beautiful gardens. These gardens produced such

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 8. s. 6.

† Ibid. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 4.

‡ D'Anville, Compendium of Ancient Geography, tom. i. p. 405. 8vo.

§ Joshua, xv. 44., and Cellarius, Geog. Ant. l. iii. c. 13. p. 359.

extraordinary fruits, that it is said five men were scarcely able to bear the weight of one of their grapes; and it is insisted on, that the same number of persons might conveniently dwell within the rind of one of their pomegranates. The giants, which were of the race of the Amalekites, occupied this happy land, and the smallest of these, according to the opinion of the divines, were of the height of nine cubits. Oy, the son of Anak, was esteemed to surpass them all in stature, and he is said to have prolonged his life to a period of three thousand years.*

In about two hours from the time of our quitting Rihhah, and after passing the foot of the mountain of the Temptation, keeping nearly a northerly course all the way, we saw on our left, at the distance of a mile from us, the ruins of a fine Roman aqueduct. This presented a range of at least twenty arches, still perfect; and as its direction was from west to east, or leading from the feet of the mountains of Judea out into the valley of Jordan, its purpose seemed to be to conduct the water from a fixed point, on the side of the hills, to another fixed point in the plain, so as to prevent its dispersion over the surface of the ground. We were sufficiently near it to observe that the architecture was Roman, and the masonry massive.

From the distance we had gone, and the line of direction in which we had travelled from Rihhah, this spot seemed likely to mark the site of Cypros, one of the cities built by Herod in this plain. The historian of this king, after describing his magnificent monuments at Cæsarea and Antipatris, the first of which he named in honour of his emperor, the last in honour of his father, says, "He also built upon another spot of ground, above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros."† This same place was afterwards embellished by Archelaus, of whom the historian

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. ii. p. 15.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 2. Jewish War, l. i. c. 21. s. 4.

says, "He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted. He also built a village, and called it Archelais." *

The palace may have been that of Cypros, or a royal palace at Jericho, as it is expressed; though the name here might be used for that of the territory, as no royal palace is spoken of at that city. The construction of the aqueduct for carrying the waters from the hill into the plain, can refer, however, only to this situation at the foot of the mountains, and probably to this identical work now seen here in ruins. The village of Archelais is made a large town in D'Anville's map, and placed farther to the northward; but as no particular position is assigned to it by the historian, beyond its being near to the other works described, it may occupy its proper place.

This spot is near to that, too, in which the old city of Ai must have stood, a city which commanded a district or small province of land, and was itself governed by a king. Its position is given as *east* of Bethel, which was in the mountains here on our left, where Abram had an interview with God, and where he erected an altar to him. "And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the *east* of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the *west*, and Hâi on the *east*." †

The details of the war against it, and the stratagem of Joshua to take it, are such as could be applied with strict local accuracy to a city seated on ground like this. The ambush, it appears, was placed among the hills on the west, or, in the words of the Scriptures, "*behind* the city, between Bethel and Ai." The portion of the troops which was to decoy the men of Ai from their city, was

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xvii. c. 13. s. 1.

† Genesis, xii. 8. and xiii. 3.—These places of Bethel and Ai are constantly spoken of together in the Scriptures. See Ezra, xi. 28. and Nehemiah, vii. 32.

pitched on the *north* side of it, and then there was a valley between it and Ai. The ambush was composed of five thousand men, and the rest of the host, or thirty-five thousand men, were to make the false attack, for they had only lost thirty-six men out of the three thousand sent up first against this city; and the whole number that crossed Jordan, was forty thousand men prepared for war. This succeeded so well, that both Bethel and Ai were emptied of their inhabitants in the pursuit of their besiegers, when the ambush arose and entered into the city, and gained an easy victory.*

On going about half an hour farther to the north, over the same kind of plain, we opened on our left a beautiful valley, now highly cultivated, and spread over with a carpet of the freshest verdure, seemingly, from its colour, of young corn. This place, we were told was called Waad-el-Farah, or the Valley of Farah; and a town was spoken of near it, in the side of the hills, bearing the same name, and being larger and more populous than Rihhak.

The situation of this place corresponds very accurately with that assigned to Phasaelus, as well as the aspect of the country near it, and even the present name may be conceived to be but a corruption of the original one. It was the same Herod who had built the magnificent city of Caesarea in honour of his emperor, Antipatris in honour of his father, and Cypros in honour of his mother, that built here also Phasaelus in honour of his brother. The first monument which he erected to him was the celebrated tower of this name in Jerusalem, which was compared to the Pharos of Alexandria, one of the seven wonders of the world, and said to have been at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a

* Not an individual was spared amid the general slaughter, and even when all were fallen, both men and women, to the number of twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai, they returned to the city and smote it with the edge of the sword. "And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day. And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide. And as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap of stones, that remaineth unto this day."—See Joshua, c. viii. throughout.

memorial for him that was deceased, because it ^{*}bore his name. The historian adds, "He built also a city of the same name in the Valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced. And this also he called Phasaelus."^{*} This was among the cities that enjoyed his peculiar protection, from the fraternal feelings which first prompted its dedication; and, accordingly, it was relieved by Herod of those annual pensions or tributes which were paid by other cities.[†] At his death, too, he bequeathed this city by testament to Salome, his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of silver that was coined.[‡]

From hence we now crossed over the plain towards the river, changing our course from north to nearly due east, and at the moment of our making this sharp angle, estimating ourselves to be little more than six miles to the northward of Rihhah. We found the plain here generally unfertile, the soil being in many places encrusted with salt, and having small heaps of a white powder, like sulphur, scattered at short intervals over its surface.

In about an hour after our turning to the eastward, we came to a ravine, apparently the bed of a torrent discharging itself from the north-west into the Jordan, perhaps either the one marked as descending from Ai, or that from Phasaelus, though, in point of distance from Rihhah and Jericho, falling just between these two, or the places assigned them on the map. We descended into this, which was now perfectly dry, and it led us, after a course of a few hundred yards, into the valley of the Jordan itself. The whole of the plain, from the mountains of Judea on the west, to those of Arabia on the east, may be called the Vale of Jordan, in a general way; but in the centre of the plain, which is at least ten miles broad, the Jordan runs in another still lower valley, perhaps a mile broad in some of the widest parts, and a furlong in the narrowest.

^{*} Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 2. Ibid. Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 21. s. 10.

[†] Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 22. s. 12.

[‡] Ant. Jud. l. xvii. c. 8. s. 1. and c. 11. s. 5.

Into this we descended, and we thought the hills of white clayey soil on each side, to be about two hundred feet in height; the second or lower plain being about a mile broad, generally barren, and the Jordan flowing down through the middle of it, between banks which were now fourteen or fifteen feet high, while the river was at its lowest ebb. There are close thickets all along the edge of the stream, as well as upon this lower plain, which would afford ample shelter for wild beasts; and as the Jordan might overflow its banks, when swoln by rains, sufficiently to inundate this lower plain, though it could never reach the upper one, it was, most probably, from these that the lions were driven out by the inundation which gave rise to the prophet's simile, "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan, against the habitation of the strong." * The overflowing is said to have been in the first month, which corresponds to our March, as, in the enumeration of the armies that came to David at Hebron, those are spoken of who went over Jordan in the first month, when he had overflowed all his banks. † In the description of the passage of the priests with the ark, while the waters were divided and stood in a heap, as in the passage of the Red Sea, it is said too, that "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest ‡," which would be both in the autumn and in the spring, as there are two harvests here, one succeeding the early, and the other the latter rains.

From our first descent into this lower plain, we went on northerly again for about half an hour, and finding a small party of Arabs encamped on the west bank of the river, we alighted at their tents to refresh. These were of the tribe of Zaliane, to which one of our guides belonged, and we met, therefore, with the most welcome reception. A meal of warm cakes and goat's milk was prepared for us, and we were glad to shelter ourselves from the scorching heat of the sun, beneath the shade of these humble dwellings. Many enquiries were made of our guides as to the

* Jeremiah, xlix. 19. and l. 44.

† 1 Chron. xii. 15.

‡ Joshua, iii. 15.

motives and object of our journey, yet, though we were in safety among this portion of the same tribe to which one of our guides belonged, neither of them would explain, but merely said that we were going to Sham, or Damascus, with which the rest seemed satisfied. As the road on the east of the Jordan was acknowledged by all to be dangerous, we took from the party here a third horseman, the chief aim seeming to be, to have our escort formed of those who were personally known among the Arabs on the other side of the river, and who could therefore ensure us a safe and unmolested passage through their territories.

We quitted this encampment about noon, our party now being composed of six horsemen, namely, three Arab guides, Mr. Bankes, Mohammed, his Albanian interpreter, and myself. We here crossed the Jordan, just opposite to the tents, which were pitched at the distance of a few yards only from the river. The stream appeared to us to be little more than twenty-five yards in breadth, and was so shallow in this part as to be easily fordable by our horses. The banks were thickly lined with tall rushes, oleanders, and a few willows; the stream was exceedingly rapid; the waters tolerably clear, from its flowing over a bed of pebbles; and as we drank of the stream, while our horses were watering, we found it pure and sweet to the taste.

From the distance which we had come from Jericho northward, it seemed probable, that we had crossed the river pretty nearly at the same ford as that which was passed over by the Israelites, on their first entering the promised land. In the account of this passage given by the sacred writers, it is merely said, that they encamped afterwards in Gilgal, in the plains of Jericho.* But Josephus says, after describing their coming up out of Jordan, "So the Hebrews went on further fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho."† This last was therefore sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half from the place

* Joshua, v. 10.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 1. cap. v. sec. 4.

of crossing; and the first was ten furlongs, or a mile and a quarter from Jericho and fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter from the passage of the river. "Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp," says the historian, "was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty. For since they had now passed over the river Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians and in the wilderness." It is likely, therefore, that Jericho was really at the spot where we noticed the extensive ruins described, and that Gilgal was near to Rihhah, east of Jericho, and consequently nearer to the river. We saw nothing of the heaps of stones that were raised as a memorial of the passage, either at Gilgal, or at the stream of the Jordan itself; but these are monuments that soon disappear. The place of Christ's baptism by John is but a little to the southward, of this, as fixed on by the Catholics, but the Greeks assign a spot three or four miles still more southerly than that assumed by the former as the scene of this event.

Ascending now on the east side of the Jordan, we met large flocks of camels, mostly of a whitish colour, and all of them young and never yet burthened, as our guides assured us, though the whole number of those we saw could not have fallen short of a thousand. These were being driven down to the Jordan to drink, chiefly under the care of young men and damsels. Among them, many of the young ones were clothed around their bodies with coverings of hair tent-cloth, while the elder females had their udders bound up in bags, tied by cords crossing over the loins, and the males walked with two of the legs tied.

We now began to ascend the white and barren hills of Arabia, as these are usually called, having quitted the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, in which Jericho, Bethel, and Hai, were situated*, and entered that of Ruben, on the other side of Jordan.† We were followed in our way up these hills by a horseman from a

* Joshua, xviii. 12, 13. 20.

† Joshua, xiii. 15—23.

neighbouring tribe of Arabs, who impatiently demanded whither we were going? It was replied, "to Sham or Damascus;" when he answered, that we should have kept along the banks of the river, and not have come up into the hills to avoid the king's highway. The conduct of our guides was, on this occasion, as inexplicable as before; for, instead of frankly explaining the reason of our having chosen this route, they seemed to admit that they had mistaken their road, and even turned down towards the valley of the Jordan again, in compliance with the stranger's advice.

It was not until this man had quitted us, under the firm persuasion of our pursuing the high road to Damascus, that we again ventured to go up into the hills, after having gone about six miles on a north-east course from the time of our crossing the river. In another hour of a course nearly east, we gained the summit of the range, and enjoyed from thence a most commanding prospect. These hills were of less elevation than those on the west, or the mountains of Judea, their height not exceeding a thousand feet, while those of Jerusalem were from fifteen hundred to two thousand at least.

We could now bear testimony to the accurate description of the great outline features of this territory, as given by Josephus; as our point of view embraced almost all the objects which he enumerates. In speaking of Jericho, he says, "It is situate in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward; but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the Lake Asphaltitis, southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness. There is an opposite mountain, that is situate over against it, on the other side of Jordan. This last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle, between

these ridges of mountain, is called the Great Plain. It reaches from the village Ginnabús, as far as the Lake Asphaltitis. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth an hundred and twenty; and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it; that of Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other. For the former is salt and unfruitful; but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer-time; and by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan; which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees, that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful; as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing or fruitful." *

We could perceive from hence that the valley had no apparent bounds to the north; as the view was lost in that direction, in the open space which was occupied by the Lake of Tiberias. To the south, we could see the surface of the Dead Sea more distinctly; the head of it appearing to be about twenty miles off. Its western shores were now exposed to us; and these, like its eastern ones, seen from the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem, presented the appearance of bold and lofty cliffs and precipices, of considerable elevation, and abrupt descent. The southern limits of this lake could not be perceived; for there, as toward the Lake of Tiberias on the north, the view was lost in distance, without having any marked boundary to define its extent. The length of the valley, or of the Great Plain as it is called, might be therefore fully equal to that given to it by Joséphus; and its breadth of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, seemed to us to be near the truth, as an average taken throughout its whole extent. The Jordan divides it, as he describes, nearly in the centre; and the contrast of the soil, the climate, and the productions, observable in

* Joseph. Jewish Wars, l. iv. cap. viii. s. 2.

the valley and in the hills, is perfectly consistent with the account given. The verdant carpet which was spread out over the cultivated land of Farah on the opposite side, was conspicuously beautiful from hence ; and with the ruined aqueduct still seen near it, and the general aspect of its situation, we had no longer any doubt of its having been the site of former opulence, but admired the choice which had fixed on such a spot for a royal city.

We now quitted the summit of this first range of hills on the *other side* of Jordan, (as they are always called in the holy writings, from their being penned at Jerusalem,) and going down on their eastern side over a very rugged and pathless way, we came into a deep glen about sunset ; and finding a small encampment of a friendly tribe of Bedouins there, we alighted at their tents to pass the night.

Our reception here was as warm and cordial as if we had been members of the same community, or friends of long standing. Our horses were taken from us by the young men of the tribe, and furnished with corn from the saiks of the Sheikh. We were ourselves conducted to his tent, and were soon surrounded by the elders, who sat in a half-circle before us on the ground. A substantial meal, though rudely prepared, was set before us, and by dint of perseverance, aided by the courtesy of gratitude to our entertainers, and a wish to avoid detection as strangers, we contrived to surmount those revolting sensations which our stomachs often experienced, before we could eat cordially and heartily of the messes of an Arab tent.

We were a good deal entertained here by meeting a sort of travelling artist, or a jack-of-all-trades, a desert Arab, who travelled about from camp to camp among the Bedouin tribes, and obtained a competent livelihood among them by his labours. His chief occupations were as a farrier, a blacksmith, and a saddler ; occupations which embraced the whole range of a Bedouin's wants, beyond that portion of them which could be supplied by his own labours, and by those of his wife and children. This man had his

anvil, his bellows, and his smaller tools, all with him ; and as we entered, he had just closed his day's work beneath the tent allotted to our repose. He rose to receive us with something of a more studied grace in his attitude than is usually witnessed in Arabs of the desert, who are remarkable for the natural ease of their politeness ; but this difference arose perhaps from the variety of his associates in an itinerant life. He was as complete a wit, and as determined a jester as any Dicky Gossip of a country village in England, and we were amused until a late hour with his facetious mirth.

We were on the point of rising with the rest to retire each to his own length and breadth of earth to repose, for there were no other beds to recline on, when all at once some one of the party recognized Abou Farah, the eldest of our guides, as one on whose head rested the blood of a son of their tribe. The accusation was hastily made, a momentary confusion ensued, but at length, after some explanation, all was calm again. This, it seemed, was an affair of four years' standing ; but it having been clearly demonstrated by one of the party that it was simply a wound that was received, from which the sufferer had recovered, and that this was accidentally given, matters were adjusted ; and a general reconciliation following, we lay down to repose under the assurance of being in perfect safety beneath their tents.

It was about noon when we reached a small encampment of Arabs, who had pitched their tents in a most luxuriant dell, where their flocks fed on the young buds of spring, and where they obtained for themselves an abundant supply of wood and water. Near to this camp, we found a place on which were the ruins of former buildings, with a large mill-stone of a circular form, with a square hole for an axle in its centre, and at least six feet in diameter. The name of this place, we were told, was Zerkah. It was seated in a beautiful valley; and on the hills around it were an abundance of wild olives, oaks, and pine-trees, of a moderate size. This place may therefore be the "Zara in the valley of Cilices," which Josephus mentions with Heshbon, Medaba, and Pella, as being in the possession of the Jews in the reign of Aretas, the Arabian king.*

After smoking a pipe, and taking coffee with the Arabs, we quitted them about one, and soon after saw a smaller party, consisting of about a dozen families only, halting to pitch their tents in a beautiful little hollow bason, which they had chosen for the place of their encampment, surrounded on three sides by woody hills. The sheikh was the only one of the whole who rode; the rest of the men walked on foot, as did most of the women also. The boys drove the flocks of sheep and goats; and the little children, the young lambs, the kids and the poultry, were all carried in panniers or baskets across the camels' backs. The tents, with their cordage and the mats, the cooking utensils, the provisions and furniture, were likewise laden upon these useful animals. As these halted at every five steps to pull a mouthful of leaves from the bushes, the progress of their march was very slow; but the patience of all seemed quite in harmony with the tardy movement of the camel, and it was evidently a matter of indifference to

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 4. Zaram is the same place mentioned by Reland among the towns possessed by Alexander Jannæus in the land of Moab. *Palæstina Illustrata*, c. xx. de Moabitis, l. i. p. 101.

every one of the group whether they halted at noon or at sun-set, since an hour was time enough for them to prepare their shelter for the night.

We now went up from hence by gradual but gentle ascents, over still more beautiful and luxuriant grounds than those which we had passed before. In our way, we left two ruined buildings on our right; named Shahan and Ullan; they were both extensive but simple edifices, and seemed to be either large caravanseras, or very small villages recently deserted. After ascending these hills until three o'clock, pursuing, generally, a north-east direction, we came to a high plain, and going about a quarter of an hour over this, we came to a deep ravine, which looked like a separation of the hill to form this chasm by some violent convulsion of nature. The height of the cliffs here on each side, which were nearly perpendicular, was not less than five hundred feet, while the breadth from cliff to cliff was not more than a hundred yards.

The plains at the top, on both sides, were covered with a light-red soil, and bore marks of high fertility; but the dark sides of the rocky cliffs that faced each other in this hollow chasm were, in general, destitute of verdure.

We descended into this ravine by winding paths, since it was every where too steep to go directly down; and found at the bottom of it a small river, which flowed from the eastward, appearing here to have just made a sharp bend from the northward, and from this point to go nearly west to discharge itself into the Jordan. The banks of this stream were so thickly wooded with oleander and plane trees, wild olives, and wild almonds in blossom, pink and white sickley-man flowers, and others, the names of which were unknown to us, with tall and waving reeds, at least fifteen feet in height, that we could not perceive the waters through them from above; though the presence of these luxuriant borders marked the winding of its course, and the murmur of its flow was echoed through its long deep channel so as to be heard distinctly from afar. On this side of the stream, at the spot where we forded

it, was a piece of wall, solidly built upon the inclined slope, constructed in an uniform manner, though of small stones, and apparently finished at the end, which was towards the river, so that it never could have been carried across, as we at first supposed, either for a bridge or to close the pass. This was called by the Arabs, "Shughl. benî Israel," or the work of the sons of Israel; but they knew of no other traditions regarding it. The river, where we crossed it, at this point, was not more than ten yards wide, but it was deeper than the Jordan; and nearly as rapid; so that we had some difficulty in fording it. As it ran in a rocky bed, its waters were clear, and we found their taste agreeable.

This stream is called "Nahr-el-Zerkah," or the river of Zerkah, by the Arabs, from the name of the nearest place, which we had just passed through before coming here. From its position, there can be no doubt of its being the Jabbok of the Scriptures, which was the northern boundary of the Amorites, as the stream of Arnon was their southern one; and this northern border, from its character as already described, would fully justify the assertion of its strength. "And Israel smote him (Sihon king of the Amorites) with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnón unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon, for the border of the children of Ammon was strong." *

Josephus, in describing the geographical boundaries of the land of the Amorites, says, "This is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island; the river Arnon being its southern limit, the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which, running into Jordan, loses its own name †, and takes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it on its western ‡ coast." This is in perfect unison with the boundaries so frequently men-

* Numbers, xxi. 24. Deut. ii. 37. and iii. 16.

† It is called the *Ford* of Jabbok, in the Scriptures, (Gen. xxxii. 22.) and its very name is expressive, Jaboc, יַבֹּק — evacuatio, vel dissipatio, aut lucta. Nomen vadi in Jordanem profluentis. — *Cœnomasticum Sacrum*, p. 159.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 5: s. 2.

tioned in Holy Writ, and more particularly in Jephthah's recapitulation of the wars of the Israelites, "when he sends messages to the king of the children of Ammon, wherein he says of the former, "And they possessed all the coasts of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and from the wilderness even unto * Jordan." This is the same place with Peniel, where Jacob wrestled with a man, or, as he himself supposed, with God, whom he thought he had seen face to face. † As it was here, too, that his name was first changed from Jacob to Israel, because as a prince he had power with God, and with men had prevailed, it is not impossible but that the singular building of the sloping wall below might bear the name of Beni Israel, in allusion to this event, and be thought even to be a monument commemorative of it by the people of the country here.

We ascended the steep on the north side of the Zerkah, and on reaching its summit, came again on a beautiful plain, of an elevated level, and still covered with a very rich soil. We had now quitted the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and entered into that of Og, the king of Bashan; both of them well known to all the readers of the early scriptures. We had quitted, too, the districts apportioned to the tribes of Ruben and of Gad, and entered that

* Judges, xi. 22.

† Genesis xxxii. 24. et seq.

"A patriarchæ itinere incipiemus, qui ex Mesopotamia regressus à monte Galaad in locum venit, quem à visis ibi angelorum castris Mahanaim adpellavit. Cadit in sortem tribus Gad, quamquam trans torrentum Jabok fuit; Josuæ, xiii. 26.; et cap. xxi. 38: ubi inter Leviticus hujus tribus numeratur. Ibi Isboseth rex contra Davidum creatus, 2 Sam. ii. 8. ibidemque castra David habuit, quum pulsus ab Absolone esset, c. xvii. 24. 27. Hieronymus de Locis. Manaim (*Μαναιμ* contracte Eusebius) potest ergo in Galaad etiam transcribi: potest etiam in principio Perææ propriæ.

"Inde transvexit suos patriarcha torrentem Jabok, et singulare certamine cum fortiore luctatus, locum Pnuel seu Pniel, id est פְּנִיאל facies Dei, nominavit. Genesis, xxxii. 30. seq. Urbs postmodum facta et emunita, Jud. viii. 8. 17. Hieronymus scripsit Fanuel: Septuaginta verterunt εἰδος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ipse amnis Jabok, qui Mahanaim inter et Pnuel delabitur, ab Hieronymo præeunte Eusebio sic descriptus est. Jabock fluvius, quo transmisso luctatus est Jacob adversus eum qui sibi adparuerat, vocatusque est Israel. Fluit autem inter Amman, id est Philadelphiam et Gerasam, in quanto millaria ejus; et ultra procedens, Jordani fluvio commiscetur. Adde Joseph. l. iv. Ant. c. 5."—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. l. iii. c. 13. Peræa, p. 397.

part which was allotted to the half tribe of Manasseh, beyond Jordan eastward, leaving the land of the children of Ammon on our right or to the east of the Jabbok, which, according to the authority before quoted, divided Ammon or Philadelphia from * Gerasa. The mountains here are called the land of Gilead † in the Scriptures, and in Josephus ; and, according to the Roman division, this was the country of the Decapolis, so often spoken of in the New Testament ‡, or the province of Gaulonites, from the city of Gaulon, its early capital. §

We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us ; its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Among the trees, the oak was frequently seen, and we know that this territory produced them of old. In enumerating the sources from which the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the Prophet says, “ Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars.” || Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated this word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of the *fat bulls of Bashan*, which

* Jabboc fluvius terminus Ammonitarum appellatur, Deut. iii. 16. גְּבּוֹל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן וְיִרְכָּה הַנְּהַל *usque ad Jabbok fluvium terminum filiorum Ammon dedi Rubenitis et Gaditis.* Quod tamen non debet intelligi ac si Jabboc ita distingueret Ammonitas et Israëlitas ut quemadmodum regio Israëlitarum est ad austrum Jabboci, ita regio Ammonitarum (si ex parte, certe non omnis ibi fuit) esset ad septentrionem : nam ultra Jabbocum septentrionem versus erat Basan et portio dimidiæ tribus Menassis ; et Gilead se extendit usque ad Dan. — Reland. l. i. c. 21. de Moabitibus, p. 104.

† Terra Gilead sæpe omnem regionem trans Jordanem denotat. — Reland. l. i. c. 1. p. 4.

‡ St. Matt. iv. 25. Mark, v. 26. and vii. 3.

§ Ab urbe גּוֹלָן Golan regio vicinadicitur GAULANITIS, quam Josephus videtur extendere a Peræa juxta ripam Jordanis orientalem usque ad Libanum. Scribit enim Ant. viii. 2. in Galaaditide ac Gaulonitide usque ad Libanum sitas fuisse urbes 60 munitas, quæ חֲזוֹת יֵאִיר 1 Reg. iv. 13. nuncupantur. — Reland. l. i. c. 33. p. 199.

|| Ezekiel, x xvii. 6.

occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in our modern maps as such, between the Jordan and the Euphrates *; but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors too might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person. †

In our way, just as we came out from a thick wood and opened on an extensive view, we were surprised by a party of peasants on foot, to the number of thirty at least, all armed with muskets slung across their shoulders. These were Arabs, though they possessed scarcely any thing but the language in common with the Arabs whom we had been accustomed to see. The great features of difference observable in them were, that they were generally taller, more robust, and of finer forms and fairer complexions. Some of them had even light eyes, and many of them brown and auburn hair, which they wore in tresses hanging over their shoulders. The dress of these men differed also both from that of the desert Arabs, and of the Syrian peasants. They wore long white shirts, girded round the loins, but neither turbans nor other coverings for their heads. From retaining the beard while the hair was suffered to hang in long and curling locks over the neck, they resembled the figures which appear in the Scriptural pieces of the great masters, and many of them reminded us of the representation of Christ himself in the principal scenes of his life.

* It was because the tribes of Reuben and Gad possessed a multitude of cattle that they intreated Moses to give them this land for their portion, as it was a land of rich pastures, and not to take them over Jordan. See Numbers, xxxii. 1—5. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 7. s. 3.

† It was called the Land of Giants, probably from the great strength of its people. (Deut. iii. 13.) It contained three-score great cities, with walls and brazen bars, (1 Kings, iv. 13.) "And Og, the king of Bashan, pre-eminent above his subjects, slept on a bedstead of iron which was nine cubits long, and four broad, after the cubit of a man." (Deut. iii. 11.)

These men were cultivators of the earth, and had been occupied in the tillage of their lands, from which labour they were now returning. As they live in a state of complete independence of Pashas or other governors, there are no boundaries that mark any peculiar portion of the earth as private property. Rich land is so abundant in every direction near them, that the only claim to the possession of any particular spot, is that of having ploughed and sown it, which entitled the person so doing to the harvest of his toils for the present season. In all their occupations they continue to be armed, partly because their country is sometimes scoured by horse Arabs from the eastern deserts, against whom they are then called to defend themselves; and partly because it is the fashion of the country to be armed, insomuch, that the being without weapons of some kind or other, is always imputed to great poverty or to cowardice.*

They seemed to suspect our party of having come among them with some views of plunder, and therefore at first approached us with great caution, and even after we had prevailed on them to answer our enquiries, and persuaded them into a belief of our story, that we had chosen this route to Damascus rather than the western one, from believing it to be, at the present moment, less dangerous, they still hung together, and had their arms in readiness to repel any treacherous attack. They informed us of their being the inhabitants of a village near, and offered to conduct us to their Sheikh, to which, as it lay directly in our way, we made no objections, and accordingly followed them.

As we continued to advance, going always on a general course of north-east, with trifling variations on the right and the left, we

* Diodorus Siculus, after describing the manners of the Nabatheans, or Arabs of the desert, says, "There are, likewise, other kind of Arabians, some of whom employ themselves in husbandry, selling of corn, with other provisions, and agree with the Syrians in all other things except dwelling in houses. These were an intermediate race between the Arabs of the desert, and the Arabs of towns, and resembled, in the general features of their lives, the people we met with here.—Diod. Sic. b. xix. c. 6.

came into cultivated land, sown with corn, the young blades of which were already appearing above the earth, from their having had gentle showers on the mountains, while all the country west of the Jordan was parched with drought. The general face of this region improved as we advanced farther in it, and every new direction of our path opened upon us views which surprised and charmed us by their grandeur and their beauty. Lofty mountains gave an outline of the most magnificent character; flowing beds of secondary hills, softened the romantic wildness of the picture; gentle slopes, clothed with wood, gave a rich variety of tints, hardly to be imitated by the pencil; deep valleys, filled with murmuring streams and verdant meadows, offered all the luxuriance of cultivation; and herds and flocks gave life and animation to scenes as grand, as beautiful, and as highly picturesque, as the genius or taste of a Claude could either invent or desire.

It was about four o'clock when we approached the village of Boorza, on entering which, we passed two grottoes excavated in the solid rock, of a size only just sufficient to admit of the sepulture of a single corpse; and near to these, we saw also, on the outside, a sarcophagus of stone, which was sufficient to mark them as sepulchral caves, and to prove the place to be the site of some more ancient settlement. We were desirous of alighting at the town, and of passing the night there; but our guides, who were quite as unwilling to trust themselves in the hands of these cultivators, as they themselves were to confide implicitly in the faith of desert Arabs, raised a thousand objections to our making even a temporary halt. These objections were urged with so much force, and the propriety of obeying their directions was illustrated by so many tales of treachery, that we felt ourselves obliged, however reluctantly, to submit to them, and continue our way. The magic of the picture around us was such, however, as frequently to arrest our steps, in order to prolong the enjoyment of what we regretted to be so hastily torn away from beholding.

The village of Boorza, is seated on the brow of a hill facing

towards the south-east, and commands before it, in that direction, a prospect which no language can adequately describe. It appeared to contain from forty to fifty dwellings of stone, and we learnt that the whole of the inhabitants were nominally Mohammedans, though they have among them neither a mosque nor a priest, nor do they trouble themselves about religion, any farther than maintaining the public profession of it. On an eminence to the right of the town, we noticed the ruins of an old castle, which occupied a commanding position, and proved this place to have been anciently a post of defence. We regretted our not being permitted by the guides to go up and examine this edifice; but as it would no doubt have collected all the people of the town about us, it was necessary to make this sacrifice of our wishes to secure our passing in tranquillity. The architecture of this citadel presented no peculiar features, except that it was strongly constructed of stone, and was of a square form.

In the enumeration of the cities of refuge which Moses set apart on the east side of Jordan toward the sun-rising, mention is made of Bezer in the wilderness; but this was in the plain country of the Reubenites, while Ramoth was in Gilead of the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan of the Manassites*; and Josephus further adds, that it was at the *borders* of Arabia.† There was, however, another city called Bosor, which was in the land of Gilead, near to the brook of Jabbok, and not far from the plain which is opposite to Scythopolis on the west of Jordan, though this city itself was less than three days' journey east of it.

The relative position of this village of Boorza in the land of Gilead, and its vicinity to the brook of Jabbok, not far from being opposite to Scythopolis, and less than three days' journey east of the Jordan, are circumstances which render it highly probable that it marks the site of the last Bosor spoken of; and if the local resemblance of its being seated on a hill, and possessing a citadel,

* Deut. iv. 43.

† Joseph. Ant. Jüd. l. iv. c. 7. s. 4.

as well as the similarity of its present name to that of the ancient town, be considered, its claims will be numerous and well founded. This, however, will be best understood by an examination of the details.

In the history of the exploits of the Maccabees, in their wars against the enemies of the Jews, it is said, —

“As for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river of Jordan, and when they had gone three days’ journey, they lit upon the Nabatheans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood, and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee, and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight; and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but journeyed in it to the garrison, where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines (to batter them), he had the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus’s men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight. But Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners, called

Malle*, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom, and Bosor†, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

“ But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if they came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he told them beforehand, ‘ if they come over it, we shall be beaten.’ And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army and went in haste against Timotheus, his enemy, and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemy, and some of them opposed him, whom he slew; and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly. Some of these escaped, but others fled to what was called the Temple, at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves. But Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the Temple; and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

“ When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea. But as soon as he was come to a city whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again) he sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city

* Maspha is the name given to this place in the Apocrypha, (1 Macc. v. 35.)

† Casphom, Maged, and Bosor, are the names in the Apocrypha, (1 Macc. v. 36.)

around, and besieged it ; and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it down, and so obtained a way through it. -And the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over-against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis.* And departing hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army ; for not one of the Jews were slain in these battles.”†

The country of the Nabatheans was in Arabia Petrea, to the southward of the Lake Asphaltitis, and the name of Nabatheans was given generally to all the Arabs living between the heads of the Arabian and the Persian Gulf. But it is here said, that after they had gone three days' journey on the other side of Jordan, they met the Nabatheans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how the affairs of the land of Gilead stood, in which land, therefore, they probably were. Yet, from this distance of three days, where he met these Nabatheans, Judas is said to have *returned* into the wilderness.‡ The writer of the Book of Maccabees says, Judas Maccabeus also, and his brother Jonathan, went over Jordan, and travelled three days. They then turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosor, which they took and burnt. It was after this that Bosor was taken, and this is expressly said to have been one of the cities of the land of Gilead.§ What Josephus calls the *garrison*, in which the Jews were shut up, the

* “ The reason why Bethshan was called Scythopolis, is well known from Herodotus, b. i. p. 105. and Syncellus, p. 214. That the Scythians, when they over-ran Asia in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it retained the name of Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians.” — Note on Josephus.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 8. s. 3. 4. 5.

‡ Ibid.

§ 1 Macc. v. 24. 28. and 36.

writer of the Apocrypha calls the *fortress*, evidently of the town itself, and most probably this identical ruined citadel now seen here on the adjoining hill, and still retaining so appropriate a name.* I can find no very determinate position assigned by the ancient geographers, either to Raphon or to Ephron.† If these were clearly ascertained, it might be more satisfactorily decided, whether the brook spoken of be the Jabbok or not. But the circumstance of this army of Judas Maccabeus arriving at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis, when they came over Jordan in their way to Mount Sion at Jerusalem, is unequivocal, and places it beyond doubt, that the place here spoken of is neither the Bezer on the border of Arabia, nor the Bozra of the Hauran, with which that has been sometimes confounded, but a Bosor here in Gilead, and, probably, on the spot where the present Boorza stands.

As we pursued our way from this village towards the north-east, going first up a gentle ascent beyond the town, and then descending toward a second valley, we overtook a small party of Bedouin Arabs, on foot. They were themselves returning to their en-

* The name is evidently a corruption of the original Hebrew one, Bosor, בִּצְרֹר munitio, vel vendemia, sive ablatio prohibitio: aut in angustia, vel tribulatione. Filius Suphafilii Heleni, 1 Par. vii. 28. Nomen item civitatis Moabitarum trans Jordanem orientem versus, ad solitudinem non nihil versentis. 1 Mac. v. 26.; Deut. iv. 43.; Jos. xx. 8. 1 Par. vi. 78. de tribu Ruben Levitis data. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 74.

בִּצְרֹר the present pronunciation of its name, signifies, in Arabic, a "wide open plain, without trees;" and this is a feature so perfectly at variance with that of the country in which this town and castle of Boorza is seated, as to prove that the name is not of Arabic origin, but a corruption of the Hebrew Bosor.

† Παφών. Nomen loci non longa à Carnaïm, ad torrentem. — Παφά, Josepho, urbs trans Jordanem sita. Reland. l. iii. p. 968. — עֶפְרוֹן Urbs in Benjamin, 2 Chron. xiii. 9. erat in regione trans Jordanica e regione Scythopolis, 1 Mac. v. 46. 52. — Reland. l. iii. p. 765.

Raphon, ραφών, medicina vel relaxatio aut gigas. D. civitas 1 Mac. v. 37. — Onomast. p. 260.

Ephron, עֶפְרוֹן ἔφρων, pulvis, sive hinnulus, aut plumbeus. Filius Seor. Gen. xxiii. 8. à quo civitas in tribu Juda, 2 Par. xiii. 19.; 1 Mac. v. 6. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 118.

campment; and as their tents were near, they invited us to follow them, and partake of their hospitality for the night, to which we readily assented.

We had not yet been an hour from Bóorza, before we passed a large ruined building, called Déer el Ramjah, or the Convent of Ramza, but whether it has been a Christian establishment, a castle, caravansera, or some portion of a deserted settlement, we could not learn. Near it stood a stately and wide-spreading oak, which, like the rest of the oaks we had seen, was not an evergreen one, but had its leaves withered, and its boughs almost bare, while the greater portion of the other trees found here, were fresh in verdure. On the left of our road were said to be other ruins, on a hill there, called Jehaz, or Jezaz; but, strong as our desire was to visit these, it was thought to be risking too much to do so, and we were obliged to content ourselves with obtaining information of the existence only of such places as we could not ourselves examine, and of taking a hasty glance at those which lay immediately in our path.

From the want of an actual survey of the local features of the two places, which could not be obtained at the distance at which we passed them, no details can be offered regarding them, except that the appearance of Ramza * was that of a large castellated enclosure built of stone, and standing on the side of a hill; and Jehaz was described to us as standing on somewhat higher ground, and being more like the ruins of a town than of a single building. These were, respectively, about a mile and a half on each side of us, as we passed; Ramza on the east, and Jezaz on the west, and the distance between them was, therefore, about three miles, being separated from each other by a sloping valley.

The place of Ramoth in Gilead is to be sought for here; and such details as we have regarding its position and local features, added to the resemblance of the name, afford great reason to

* Pronounced indifferently رَمْزَا, Ramza, and رَمْضَا, Ramtha.

believe, that the ruins at Ramza may be a portion of those belonging to that city, or, at least, mark the site on which it stood. This city was one of the chief in Gilead, and is called Ramoth Gilead, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. It is first mentioned as one of the cities of refuge set apart by Moses on the east of the Jordan, “unto which the slayer might flee who should kill his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in times past; and that, fleeing unto one of these cities, he might live.”* It is there called Ramoth, in Gilead, of the Gadites, and this distinction is repeated in another place. It is again mentioned in the history of the early wars, when it was the scene of a battle between the kings of Judah and Israel on the one side, and the king of Syria on the other, for the recovery of Ramoth Gilead, where Ahab the ruler of Israel was slain.† Josephus details the story of this battle more at large, but nothing can be collected from him regarding the actual site or relative position of this place, with regard to other known places, in bearing or distance.‡

These deficiencies are supplied, but I know not on what authority, by St. Jerome, who fixes it at fifteen miles *west* of Philadelphia, or Ammon, and near to the Jabbok, in both of which particulars this place of Ramza agrees.§ From its being placed in the tribe of Gad, D’Anville has given it a position more to the southward, though within about the distance specified from Ammon; but Cellarius, in whose map the course of the Jabbok is much more accurately delineated, has placed it in Gilead, just to the *north* of this stream, about the distance assigned to it from Ammon, and just in the spot on which the present Ramza stands. Whether the epithet of

* Deut. iv. 42.

† 1 Kings, xxxii. throughout.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 15. s. 5, 6.

§ רַמְתֹּחַ In Gilead, quæ etiam Ramoth, ἀπλωζ. Urbs tribus Gad, Deut. iv. 43. Jos. xx. 8. Vicus fuit 15 miliaribus à Philadelphia, versus *occidentem*. Euseb. in Onom. Apud Hieronymum *male* legitur *orientem*. Fuisset enim extra fines terræ Israeliticæ, quæ ultra Philadelphiam orientem versus non protenditur. Idem mox scribit Ramoth Gileaditidis esse in Peræa juxta flumen Jaboc.—Reland, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. p. 966.

Deer, which means any large house, as well as a convent, was given to the large castellated ruin here, as a modern affix to it, or not, we could not learn; neither could we decide whether this large fortress-like edifice was itself a vestige of the old city of refuge, within the enclosure of which the man-slayer was safe from the vengeance of his pursuers, or the remains of any more modern building. *

What ancient city the ruins of Jezaz may mark, is not so easily determined. There was a Jahaz, at which the children of Israel fought against Sihon, king of the Amorites, because he would not let them pass through his border; but this was in the wilderness, or on the *borders* of the Arabian Desert, to the southward of the Dead Sea, and in the land of Moab; for it was not until Israel had smote him, Sihon, king of the Amorites, with the edge of the sword, that he possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, and dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the villages thereof.

There was, however, a Jabesh, which could not have been far from this spot, and, like Ramoth, was characterised by the addition of Gilead, as a distinctive appellation. This place is first mentioned in the story of the Lamentations that were made for the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin, and the difficulties that arose regarding marriages since they were cut off from among them. When the Israelites came to bewail this desolation of Benjamin in Mizpeh, they had made an oath that whoever came not up to the mourning should be put to death. On the numbering of the people, it was found that none of the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead were there, and, accordingly, twelve thousand of the valiantest of the assembly were ordered by the congregation to go and smite the inhabitants of this place with the edge of the sword, and to

* Ramoth, רָאֲמוֹת, Deut. iv. 43. Jos. xx. 8. 1 Reg. 22. 3. 1 Par. vi. 73., videas montem, vel intuitis montis, vel *altitudines*. Eadem civitas quæ et Ramoth prior.—Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 259.

spare neither men, women, nor children. * The occasion of their meeting, was to mourn the loss of a tribe whom they had themselves cut off from among them, by the slaughter of twenty-five thousand men, who drew the sword, and were all men of valour, leaving only a remnant of six hundred of the whole of the sons of Benjamin, who fled into the desert, and abode in the rock of Rimmon for four months. †

This Jabesh Gilead was afterwards the scene of a battle between Saul and the Ammonites, in which the latter were discomfited. Nahash, the leader of the Ammonites, had come up to encamp against this place, and on being asked to make a covenant, urged the strange condition of his being allowed to thrust out all the people's right eyes, which the men of Jabesh requested seven days' respite to consider of, during which time Saul came to their aid, and repelled their enemies.

At a future period, these men of Jabesh, whom he had delivered, had an opportunity to testify their gratitude. When the Philistine followed hard upon Saul, and the battle went sore against him in Mount Gilboa, Saul, and his armour-bearer, and his three sons, fell upon their swords, to avoid the disgrace of being slain by uncircumcised hands. The Philistines, when they came on the morrow to strip the slain, found them, and cut off the head of Saul, and stripped off his armour, and sent it into the land of the Philistines round about, to publish it in the houses of their idols, and among the people. And they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth. And they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan. "And when the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they

* Judges, xxi. throughout.

† Ibid, xx. 47.

took their bones and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.”*

We learn from this, that Beth-shan, or Scythopolis, was within a night's march from Jabesh, which fixes its position, within limits of tolerable accuracy on the *west*. Its distance, of six miles from Pella, towards Gerasa, will equally fix its limits on the *east*, as Pella is placed by all the authorities on the river Jabbok†, though it is much farther to the eastward in the map of Cellarius, than in that of D'Anville. In both of these, the distance of Pella from Gerasa corresponds pretty accurately with the thirty-five Roman miles assigned to it; but, in Cellarius, the places are nearly *east* and *west* of each other, and in D'Anville nearly *north* and *south*, though the same authorities for their respective positions were open to both. If to this agreement in point of relative distances, be added the resemblance of local feature in the present ruins of Jezaz, being seated on a hill or mountain, like that of the ancient Jabesh‡, it will not be a forced presumption to consider it as at least probable that the ruins here may be those of the ancient town, and the present name only a corruption of the original one. §

The early writers, being rather historians than geographers, afford, in some instances, such scanty materials for fixing the

* 1 Samuel, xxxi. throughout.

יְבֶשֶׁת Urbs Gileaditis, unde sæpe יְבֶשֶׁת גִּלְעָד dicitur Jud. xxi. 9. Jabeschitæ per totam noctem facto itinere cadavera Saulis et filiorum ejus e mœnibus urbis Bethsan abstulerunt et redierunt, 1 Sam. xxxi. 11. hinc judica de distantia harum urbium. Eusebius ad vocem Ἀρισθῆ and Ἰάβις testatur suo tempore fuisse vicum prægrandem hoc nomine trans Jordanem, 6 miliar. distantem Pella versus Gerasam.—Reland, lib. iii. p. 822.

† Près du Jabok étoit une ville de considération, sous le nom de Pella, que les Grecs de Syrie qui l'habitoient, lui avoit donné, à cause de sa situation environnée d'eaux, comme la ville Macedonienne de ce nom.—D'Anville, Geog. An. Peræa et Arabia.

‡ Jabis Galaad . . . Nunc est vicus trñs Jordanem in sexto miliario civitatis Pellæ, *super montem* euntibus Gerasa. Hieron.—Reland, l. ii. p. 493.

§ Jabes Galaad יְבֶשֶׁת גִּלְעָד siccitas, vel confusio acervi testimonii. Nomen civitatis. Judiç. xxi. 8. 1 Sam. xi. 1.—Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 159.

position of places spoken of by them, that great accuracy cannot be expected to be attained at this period. The resemblance of names, the correspondence of local features, and the existence of ruins on any particular spot, may be therefore considered as of as much weight in determining questions of this nature, as the estimate of distances, which, from being given in figures, are always liable to corruption. But when all these circumstances nearly agree, the evidence may be received as the most conclusive now within our reach.

We continued our way from between the ruins of Deér-el Ramza and Jezaz, still towards the north-east, admiring, as before, the beauty of the country on all sides. The prospects around us made us credit all that has been said of the ancient populousness of this district; and while we felt the difficulty, in many instances, of identifying ancient positions with the perfect correspondence of all the requisite data, we conceived it highly probable that one place might be sometimes taken for another, in a kingdom of so confined an extent, yet so thickly spread over with populous towns and villages, and in which are said to have existed threescore cities.*

At sunset we reached the camp of the Bedouins, whom we had joined on our way, and were received there with their accustomed hospitality. It was carried so far in the present instance, as even to occasion a contention among the Arabs themselves, as to which of them should furnish the necessary corn for our horses. A lamb was killed for us, and all the members of the camp assembled around our evening party in the Sheikh's tent, to entertain us, and to assure us of our welcome among them. Our conversation was sufficiently varied; but though our destination for Damascus was spoken of, our intention to halt at Jerash was studiously concealed, and at midnight we lay down to sleep.

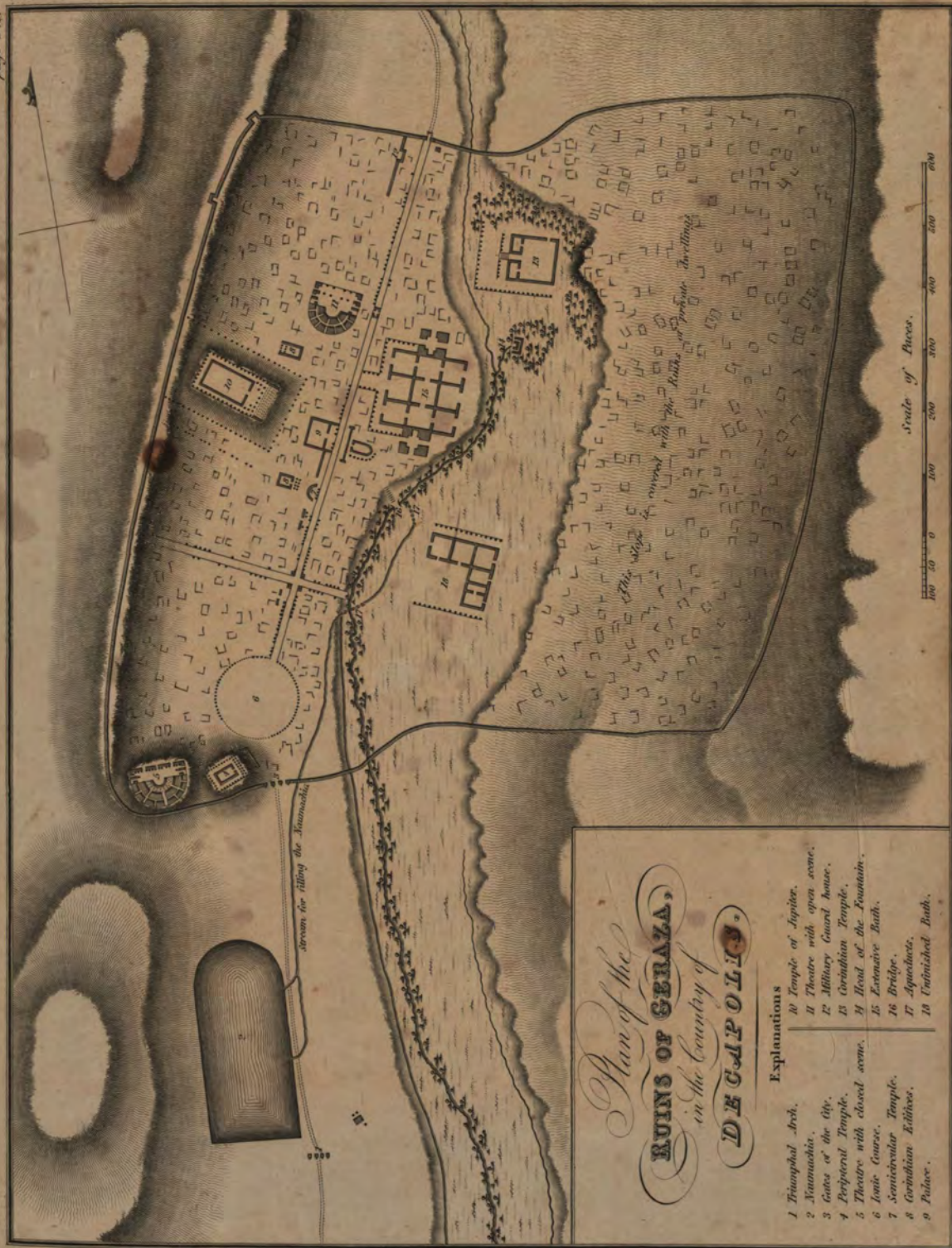
* "The son of Geber, in Ramoth Gilead: to him pertained the towns of Jair, the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead, to him also pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, threescore great cities, with walls and brazen bars." 1 Kings, iv. 13.



CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE ARAB CAMP TO JERASH.

JANUARY 31st. We quitted our station at an early hour, and, after leaving the camp, passed again through a rich and beautiful country. It was about an hour after our first setting out that we came to another torrent, in a deep ravine, the stream of which was called Nahr-el-Zebeen. The ford at which we crossed it was scarcely more than ten yards wide, and here the banks were covered with rushes, planes, and oleanders. It appeared to us to be only a more northern portion of Zerkah or the Jabbok, which we had already



Plan of the
RUINS OF GERAZA,
in the Country of
DECAPOLIS.

Explanations

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 1 | Triumphal Arch. | 10 | Temple of Jupiter. |
| 2 | Ammanabad. | 11 | Theatre with open scene. |
| 3 | Gates of the city. | 12 | Military Guard house. |
| 4 | Polyeud Temple. | 13 | Christian Temple. |
| 5 | Theatre with closed scene. | 14 | Head of the Fountain. |
| 6 | Isle Cause. | 15 | Exensive Bath. |
| 7 | Semicircular Temple. | 16 | Bridge. |
| 8 | Christian Edifice. | 17 | Aqueduct. |
| | Palace. | 18 | Unfinished Bath. |



passed over once; but this the Arabs contradicted, though they said that, like Zerkah, it mingled its waters with those of the Jordan, and ran together with them into the Dead Sea.

In ascending from the valley of this stream, and going up its steep northern bank, we were shown what appeared to us to be a tower, with a wall and portions of ruined edifices near. This place was called Zebeen, and gave its name to the torrent below. It was said to have been an old Christian settlement; but, as we were not permitted to turn aside to see it, we could not determine with accuracy either its age or character.

We were here interrupted and thrown into a momentary alarm, by the pursuit of two horsemen, who came galloping over the brow of the hill behind us, commanding us with a loud voice, and in an authoritative tone, to halt and give an account of ourselves. Though we considered ourselves to be in a strange and almost an enemy's country, we were not, however, in a condition to yield to the menaces of so small a force. We therefore replied to their challenge in a tone equally haughty with their own, and refused to satisfy them either from whence we had come or whither we were going; so that they soon desisted from their pursuit and left us.

In continuing our way to the north-east, we still went through a beautifully fertile country; and, after passing three or four ruined buildings of considerable size on the road, we came about ten o'clock into a charming valley, from whence we obtained the first sight of the ruins of Jerash.

We approached the remains of this city on the southern side, and saw, at first, a triumphal gateway, nearly entire. * The architecture of this was not of the most chaste kind, though the masonry was good. It bore a striking resemblance to the work seen in the ruined city of Antinoë, in Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile. On each side of the large central arch of this

* No. 1. in the General Plan.

gateway, which was wide enough for chariots, there was a smaller one for foot-passengers, and over each of these was an open square window. The front of the whole bore four columns, which were placed one on each side of the smaller arched passages, and one in each of the intervals between these and the large central one. These columns were of a small diameter, and constructed of many separate pieces of stone; their pedestals were of a square form, but tall and slender; on each of these was placed a design of leaves, resembling very nearly a Corinthian capital without the volutes; on this again arose the shaft, which was plain, and composed of many small pieces, but as all the columns were broken near their tops, the crowning capitals were not seen. The pediment and frieze were also destroyed, but enough of the whole remained to give an accurate idea of the original design, and to prove that the order of the architecture was Corinthian.*

After passing through this first gateway, we came upon the fragments of its own ruins within; but seeing no vestiges of walls connected with the gate itself on either side, we concluded that this was an isolated triumphal arch, placed here for the passage of some hero, on his way to the entrance of the city.

Just within this gateway, on the left, we next observed a fine naumachia, for the exhibition of sea-fights.† This was of an oblong shape, with its southern end straight, and its northern end of a semicircular form. It was constructed of fine masonry, smooth within, but having the rustic projections without, and being finished on the top with a large moulding, wrought in the stone. The channels for filling this naumachia with water were still visible, and the walls within were from six to eight feet deep, though level with the soil without; but as this space was now used as a field on which corn was actually growing, it is probable that the soil had accumulated progressively there, and that the original depth was much greater.

* See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

† No. 2. in the General Plan.

Passing onward amid heaps of ruined fragments, we came next to a second gateway, exactly similar in design to the triumphal one without, but connected here on both sides with the wall of the city, to which it formed the entrance. *

Leaving the triumphal arch and naumachia, we entered into the city through this its southern gate; and, on turning to the left, and passing by a raised platform of masonry, which supported the front of a peripteral temple †, we came into a large and beautiful circular colonnade, of the Ionic order, surmounted by an architrave. ‡ Above the temple, on our left, was an open theatre, facing to the north §; but of this, as well as of the temple itself, we could catch but a momentary glance before we were obliged to return to the straight path.

We could now perceive a long avenue of columns, leading in a straight line for a considerable distance beyond the circular colonnade, and appearing to mark the direction of some principal street that led through the whole length of the city. On entering this street, we perceived that the columns were all of the Corinthian order, the range on each side of the street being ascended to by a flight of steps. The proportions of the pillars seemed chaste; they were without pedestals, and their plain shafts swelled in diameter from the base towards the centre, and then tapered away towards the capital.

Passing onward through this street, and climbing over huge masses of fallen columns and masonry, we noticed four columns on each side of the way, of much greater height and larger diameter than the rest, but, like all the others, supporting only an entablature, and probably standing before the front of some principal edifice now destroyed.

Beyond this we came to a square, formed by the first intersection of this principal street by one crossing it at right angles, and like

* No. 3. in the General Plan.

† No. 5. in ditto.

‡ No. 4. in ditto.

§ No. 6. in ditto.

it too apparently once lined on both sides by an avenue of columns. At this point of intersection were four square masses of smooth masonry, in the nature of very large pedestals. These had in each of their fronts a niche for a statue, which was concave at the back, arched at the top, and crowned there by a beautiful fan or shell neatly sculptured. On the top of these large square pedestals, appeared to have once stood small Corinthian columns, the shafts and capitals of which now lay scattered below, so that they might have been bases of peristyles.

Continuing still onward, and passing the fragment of a solid wall on our left, which had formed part of the front of some large edifice, we came to a portion of a temple of a semicircular form, with four columns in front, facing the principal street, and falling in a line with it. The spring of its half-dome was still remaining, as well as several yellow marble columns, and a fragment of a column of red granite. The whole seemed to have been executed with peculiar care, and we thought the sculpture of its friezes, cornices, pediments, capitals, &c., which were all of the Corinthian order, as rich and chaste as the works of the first ages. Around the frieze of the interior was an inscription, of which we could not be allowed time to take an accurate copy.

On a broken altar, near to the ruin, we observed another inscription, which we were not suffered to examine minutely, although we could make out the name of Marcus Aurelius very distinctly at the beginning of it. Beyond this again, we had temples, colonnades, theatres, arched buildings with domes, detached groups of Ionic and Corinthian columns, bridges, aqueducts, and portions of large buildings scattered here and there in our way*, none of which we could examine with any degree of attention, from the restraint under which our guides had placed us.

After passing in this hurried way, through the greater part of the town, and arriving nearly at the further extreme from that at

* Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18. of the General Plan.

which we had entered it, we turned down to water our horses at a stream in the valley *; and assembled our party, so as to preserve the appearance of really being passengers merely halting by the way, on our road to Damascus.

While the guides and our servants were taking some refreshment, Mr. Banks and I ascended to a convenient spot where we could both conceal ourselves from the sight of passengers below; and while Mr. Banks was employed in taking a hasty sketch of the whole view as it appeared from hence, I caught the opportunity of throwing together the recollections of our route from Jerusalem thus far, as not a moment had yet offered itself from the time of our leaving that city, in which it would have been safe to have written, or to have excited curiosity by the appearance of such unusual things as pen and paper.

Having done this, Mr. Banks made a second excursion with the guides, and I remained to keep the impatience of the rest in play, to answer questions from passengers, and to prolong our stay to the last possible moment.

After this momentary glance over these interesting and magnificent ruins, we were obliged to hurry off in a state of mind not easily described; delighted and surprised by what we had come so dangerous a journey to behold, and tormented by regret at the necessity of catching a mere sight of them, and of quitting the spot, as we then thought, most probably for ever.

Having passed the northern wall of the city, which appeared to us to be at least a mile apart from its southern gate of entrance †, the whole space between being covered with the ruins of splendid buildings, we ascended a steep hill, and, in about a quarter of an hour, came to the Necropolis. We saw here some few grottoes only, but in the course of our way, we remarked nearly a hundred sarcophagi of stone, all of them now above ground. Most of these

* No. 14. of the General Plan.

† Both marked No. 3. in the General Plan.

were ornamented on the sides with sculptured shields ; they were of oblong forms, straight at the sides and ends, made of a grey limestone, and about the size of the human form in the hollow space, and from two to three inches in thickness. We saw only one cover perfect, which was pent-roofed, and had the section of a globe at each corner in the Roman style. Many of these sarcophagi were broken, and some reversed ; but all appeared to have been dragged up from the earth by force, as they lay in heaps sometimes one on another. They were probably thought to contain hidden treasures, and were thus ransacked by the Saracens.

In our way up this steep hill, we found near the Necropolis, the remains of a small temple with columns, which we could not turn out of our road to examine ; and still further on, we noticed the walls and dwellings of a village which were well-built, and apparently the works of a distant age.

We turned round here to enjoy a last look on the splendid ruins we had left so abruptly, and so unwillingly too, and were charmed beyond description with the magnificent scene which it presented. The city standing itself on a rising ground, seemed from this point of view to be seated in the hollow of a grand and deep valley, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains now covered with verdure, and having part of its own plain below in actual cultivation. Near to where we stood was the ruined village already spoken of, and on the summit of the southern hill which bounded the view in that quarter, stood the modern village of Aioode, having a central tower and walls, and forming the retreat of the husbandmen who till the grounds in the valley beneath. The circular colonnade, the avenues of Corinthian pillars forming the grand street, the southern gate of entrance, the naumachia, and the triumphal arch beyond it, the theatres, the temples, the aqueducts, the baths, and all the assemblage of noble buildings which presented their vestiges to the view from hence, seemed to indicate a city built only for luxury, for splendour, and for pleasure ; although it was a mere colonial town in a foreign province, distant from the capital of the

great empire to which it belonged, and scarcely known either in sacred or profane history.

It would be in vain to attempt a picture of the impressions which followed such a sight. We were considered by our guides to be in danger, and self-preservation pushed us on, while the change of scenery and the occupation of the mind on the necessary cares of the way, served to bring it back to its original state of calm.

We continued, from the summit of this northern mountain, to descend gradually and passed again through an interesting and well-wooded country, arriving in about an hour and a half at the village of Soof, where our halt was fixed for the night.

We were received here in a sort of public room by the sheikh of the village, but instantly perceived the marked difference between the hospitality of the Bedouins and the cultivators; for here not a stick of firewood was to be had without payment for it beforehand.

As the sun was not yet set, we left our guides to manage with the villagers for our supplies, and walked out for half an hour, though obliged to do even this with extreme caution, as all eyes were upon us.

The village of Soof stands on the brow of a steep hill, on the S.W. of a deep ravine. It possesses several marks of having been the site of some more ancient and considerable town, having large blocks of stone, with mouldings, sculpture, &c. worked into the modern buildings; and on the opposite hill, on the other side of the ravine, are seen the walls of an edifice apparently of the Roman age. There are also remains of two small square towers, apparently of Saracenic work, the masonry being good, and there being loopholes for arrows in the walls.

The town of Soof contains from forty to fifty dwellings, and nearly five hundred inhabitants, including those of all ages and both sexes. The Sheikh of it is responsible to the Pasha of Damascus, and pays him tribute. The men are not only rigid but

bigoted Mohammedans, and of a surly and forbidding temper, as far as we had yet seen of them. Their grounds around are cultivated with corn, and both the olive and the vine flourish in abundance, furnishing them with oil from the former, and grapes and dried raisins from the latter, wine being unknown among them.

Some women having noticed our writing, during the secrecy of our walk, circulated a report of the fact, and insisted on knowing what we were about. We were fortunate in being able to persuade them that we were Turks, and repeating the formula, "B'ism illah, er Rahman er Rahheem," assured them that we were merely employed in writing a prayer on the appearance of the new moon, after the manner of the faithful.

When we returned from our ramble, we found a large party assembled in the public room, and we exchanged with them the salute of Islam. We were not long seated, before close enquiries began to be pressed upon us, and we felt every hour more uneasy at their tendency. We sought our safety, however, in reserve; and as the party was numerous, we contrived, amidst the mixture of prayers, and wrangling, and dispute, and imprecation, to keep ourselves undiscovered.

February 1st. The day broke in heavy rains, and our Bedouin guides refused to proceed, as the horses were already wearied, and shelter could not always be commanded on the road. The desire of Mr. Banks and myself to revisit the ruins of Jerash was equally strong; and since all our endeavours were not sufficient to prevail on our guides to brave the weather, we determined on stealing to the ruins in the interval, at all risks which it might involve.

As it was impossible, however, to absent ourselves from so enquiring a company without being noticed, some motive was necessary to be assigned, and it luckily happened that one really presented itself of sufficient force to be admitted. On the preceding day, while writing the notes of our route from Jerusalem to Jerash, beneath a rock, I had left a knife behind me, and it was professedly under the hope of finding this that we set out on foot.

to go a journey of two full hours over a steep and rugged road, and amid a heavy rain, which threatened long continuance.

We were accompanied by one of our guides only, to whom a pair of boots was promised for his pains, and by a man of the village with his musket, to whom half a dollar was to be given at his return. We were wet through, as might have been expected, long before we reached the spot; but the grand view of Geraza, from the northern heights which overlooked its splendid ruins, was even in the mist that half obscured them, sufficient of itself to repay our toils.

We descended now by another road, to avoid passing immediately through the site of the city, keeping on its western edge, and passed there an extension of the Necropolis, through which we had gone on the preceding day; the form, the size, and the sculptured ornaments of the sarcophagi, were still the same, and there were certainly more than fifty of them now above the ground. They lay together in heaps, and seemed, like the rest, to have been dragged up from the earth with violence, as many of them were broken, and others reversed.

Notwithstanding the violence of the rains, which had reduced the parched earth to a state of mud, and rendered the ploughed lands almost impassable, the peasantry were all out, either at the plough or scattering seed, the labour of husbandry being already too much retarded by the late long drought to admit of an hour being lost. This was most unfortunate for us, as we necessarily passed several of them, and attracted the more notice from being on foot in such unseasonable weather.

At length we reached the back of the southern theatre, and descending into it by one of the regular doors, sought a moment's shelter and repose in the covered passage which led to the seats. Even here, we were visited by one of the old peasants from the fields, who insisted that we were come to take away the hidden treasures of the genii who had built these palaces and castles. We replied, that, being on our way from Egypt to Constantinople, we

were desirous of carrying to the Sultan, (whom all the faithful revered as the head of Islam,) some account of so wonderful a place as Jerash, of which he had never yet heard; and we begged that he, as a true Mohammedan, would implore the blessing of God upon our labours. The man was rather confounded than satisfied, and soon began to grow impatient; but we contrived to bribe him to stay, fearing that, by leaving us, he might communicate our being here to his fellows, and occasion our further interruption.

Mr. Bankes now prepared to draw from hence a view of the interior of the theatre, including chiefly its front and scene, being completely sheltered from the rain, as well as from sight, by the arched covering of the passage under which he stood; and in the meantime I employed myself in measuring the principal features of this building, in laying down, by compass, from an overlooking eminence, the relative positions of the principal edifices, and in forming as accurate a ground-plan of the whole as the unfavourable circumstances of the moment would admit.

When Mr. Bankes had finished his drawing, the two Arabs became impatient to return to Soof, and the third to see the treasure opened. The rain still continued with increasing violence, and nothing could be set on paper without being under the shelter of some portion of building, as even our inner clothes were as wet as our outer ones, and nothing could be done under them.

We set out together, however, from the theatre to the southern gate of entrance, and paced the whole of the way from thence to the northern gate and wall, examining, cursorily, all the buildings in the way, and forming from it the ground-plan on a separate sheet, as well as collecting the following observations of a general nature on the city itself.



CHAPTER XXI.

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT GERAZA.

THE geographical position and relative bearing and distance of this place, from other established and well-known points, will be best seen from the map of our route, which has been constructed with great care, and that portion of it, which includes the country east of the Jordan, laid down entirely from our own journey through it.

The city occupied nearly a square of somewhat less than two English miles in circumference; and the greatest length, from the

ruined arched building on the south of the first entrance, to the small temple on the north of the opposite one, is about five thousand feet, as measured by paces, or nearly an English mile. The general direction of this square is, with its sides, nearly towards the four cardinal points; but none of these sides are perfectly straight, probably from the inequality of the ground along which they run.

The city stood on the facing slopes of two opposite hills, with a narrow but not a deep valley between them, through which ran a clear stream of water springing from fountains near the centre of the town, and bending its way thence to the southward.

The eastern hill, though rather more extensive in its surface than the western one, rises with a steeper slope, and is consequently not so well fitted for building on. We found it covered with shapeless heaps of rubbish, evidently the wreck of houses, as the walls of some of them were still visible; but as neither columns nor other vestiges of ornamental building were to be seen among these, we concluded that this portion of the city was chiefly inhabited by the lower orders of the people.

The whole surface of the western hill is covered with temples, theatres, colonnades, and ornamental architecture, and was no doubt occupied by the more dignified and noble of the citizens. The general plan of the whole was evidently the work of one founder, and must have been sketched out before the Roman city, as we now see it in its ruins, began to be built. The walls of the city were as nearly equal in length, and faced as nearly to the four cardinal points as the nature of the ground would admit.

The eastern portion was chosen for the residence of the great mass of the people; first, from its being of more extensive surface; and next, from its being less adapted to the erection of fine buildings, or the production of architectural effect. The western portion was devoted purely to the grandeur of display and decoration, and the regularity of its arrangement is no less striking than the number of splendid edifices crowded together in so small a space.

One straight and spacious street extends through the whole length of the city, from north to south, ending at the gates of these respective quarters, there being only these two now remaining; nor are there, indeed, any conclusive appearances of there ever having been any other than these two entrances into the city.

This main street is intersected, at nearly equal distances of one fourth of its length from each gate, by two other streets, which cross it at right angles, and extend through the whole breadth of this western portion of the city, the point of intersection in each being ornamented with a public square.

From each of these intersections to their respectively nearest gate, the order of architecture that prevailed was Ionic; but in the central space, between these intersections, and including a length equal to half that of the whole city, the predominant order was Corinthian.

In the centre, or nearly so, of this central space was an noble palace, probably the residence of the Governor, with a beautiful Corinthian temple in front, and another more ruined one behind, in right lines with it; and the semicircular recess of a still more highly-finished temple beside it. In a line with these edifices, and on the east of them, was a bridge crossing the small stream in the valley. In a line with the first or southern street of intersection was another bridge, and nearly in a line with the northern street, and also on the east of it, was a very extensive bath.

Just within the southern gate of entrance, was a peripteral temple, a circular colonnade, and a theatre; and just within the northern gate of entrance was also a theatre, a temple, and a military guard-house. Both the principal street extending the whole length of the city, and those which crossed it and ran through its breadth, were lined by avenues of columns extending in one unbroken range on each side, and ascended to by steps.

There were also other edifices scattered in different parts of the city, which will be seen in examining the plan; but the whole

was remarkable for the regularity and taste of its design, no less than for its able and perfect execution.

Between those two hills on which the whole city thus stood, was the narrow valley before mentioned. At its upper or northern end it became so confined as to constitute a difficult pass; and it was near to this part that the military guard-house stood to command it. Below this, to the southward, was a large Corinthian temple on the plain; still farther down in this valley, or near the centre of its whole enclosed length, was the source of a beautifully-clear spring, around which had been erected fountains and other appropriate works. Still to the south of this, was another large bath, consisting of many apartments, and having many fallen columns near it; and almost opposite to this were the bridge before spoken of, and an aqueduct which crossed the stream on arches. The stream then pursued its course to the southward, until it passed beneath the city walls there, and followed afterwards the general direction of the valley.

Such were the outline features of this interesting city; but it will be perhaps worth a more minute description. This can be best made by following up the order in which the edifices presented themselves to us on our first visit; and this, too, will furnish just occasion to preserve the first impressions which the sight of these edifices respectively made, corrected, when necessary, by those of our subsequent examination.

The outer or southernmost building was unquestionably a triumphal arch*, and, as such, stood quite unconnected with any wall, and lay in the direct line to the city-gate, for the passage of processions through it on approaching the city from the southward. The style of its architecture has been already particularly detailed; the whole length of its front is forty paces, or about eighty feet. †

* No. 1. of the General Plan.

† The measurements were all made by short paces, and these were found, on taking an average of one hundred of them, to be about two English feet each.

It consists of three arched passages, the central one of which is about thirty feet in height within, and twenty feet broad; and the two side ones about twenty feet in height, and ten feet broad; the length of all the passages being the same, and measuring about twenty feet, so that the central one is a square below, and the side ones of an oblong form.

In a direction of S. by W. from this triumphal arch, and at the distance of about three hundred yards, are the remains of a ruined building, of which nothing is now seen but some portions of excellent masonry, and arches of the Roman form. Sufficient of the edifice does not remain, however, to decide on its nature or its original use.

To the S. S. E., at about one hundred and fifty yards' distance from the triumphal arch, and beyond the limits of the plan, are about twenty sepulchral caves hewn down in the rock. They are now open and destitute of sarcophagi within, though some of these are found on the outside, dragged from their original silence, and violated, broken, and destroyed. These sepulchral caves are seen on the brows of both the hills here, with the stream of water and the valley between them, and facing respectively to the eastward and to the westward. Those which are on the eastern hill are near the very edge of the low cliff there, and face toward the west; but these are mostly broken and injured by their exposed situation.

Those on the western hill are more perfect, the passage into them being cut obliquely down through the earth on a gentler slope. Some of these caverns are large within, but all are of rude workmanship; several of them have been recently used for dwellings, or places of temporary shelter, as small fences and marks of fire-places remain to be seen.

The small ruined building which is within the triumphal arch on the E. N. E., is of a square form, and has some few shafts of columns near it, both erect and fallen; but it presents nothing remarkable in its construction, nor is its original use easily conjectured.

The naumachia is about seven hundred feet in length, and three hundred in breadth, preserving nearly an oblong form.* At the southern or lower end the wall is straight, and at right angles with the sides; but at the northern, or upper end, the form is semi-circular. The depth now visible below the upper edge of the masonry, which is itself level with the soil without and around it, is about eight feet; but as there has been, for many ages, an accumulation of soil, by the yearly deposit of water and decay of vegetable matter in this reservoir, there is now a cultivated piece of ground within it. The masonry of the sides of this naumachia is of the most uniform and excellent kind; the inner face is smooth, and the outer, or that presented to the soil behind it, preserves the projections of the rustic manner. The upper edge is neatly finished with a moulding, but there are no appearances of seats or benches for the spectators, who must therefore have witnessed the exhibition from one common level above.

The two channels for filling it with water are still perfect, and led into it from about equal distances on the eastern side, as marked in the plan. Above that part of the city wall under which the stream runs, and where the wall makes an elbow to fall into a line with the city-gate, one branch of the stream is carried over the brow of the western hill, to conduct a portion of the waters to the channels for filling the naumachia; and another continues along the side of the same western hill, going to the southward for some purpose that we did not trace; while the main body of the stream runs in the valley below, descending progressively to a deeper bed. But these two channels, which here lead to separate destinations, unite only from the arched aqueduct, a little southward of the bridge, running from thence along the side of the western hill, and preserving its original level; while the bed of the valley gradually slopes downward to the south. On the brow of the opposite or eastern hill, still without the walls of the town,

* No. 2. of the General Plan.

is seen also a channel which conveys water, even at the present time, to some part more southerly, which we did not however trace to its end.

The intention of placing this naumachia immediately within the triumphal arch, and exactly in the line of march from thence to the principal entrance of the city, was perhaps for the exhibition of some naval shows, illustrative of the exploits of the person honoured with the triumph, and for whom both the arch and the naumachia were probably expressly constructed. It is easy to suppose that it might have been a triumph given to some hero who had distinguished himself in a battle on the sea of Galilee or the lake of Tiberias, since there were many sea-fights there between the Jews and the Romans; but the details of the history of this city are so scanty, that no particular instance of such triumph is known to me as being on record.

It may be observed, that the building here assumed to be a naumachia could not have been a circus, or a hippodromus: first, because it is evidently too much sunk beyond the common level for such a place; next, because water could not have been necessary to be supplied to it in streams by aqueducts, if this were the purpose to which it was applied; and, lastly, because there is no visible appearance in any part of it, though its wall is still perfect all around, of any place of descent for either horses or chariots, or even of steps for the descent of footmen.

To the north-west of the naumachia, on a higher part of the hill, distant from two to three hundred yards, and beyond the limits of the plan, are a great number of sarcophagi, reversed, broken, and scattered about, but evidently not far from their original place, so that one of the portions of the necropolis of this city must have been here. These sarcophagi are all of the black basaltic stone, and mostly sculptured with Roman devices; but among them there are none remarkable for superior elegance in their execution.

In a direction of N. N. W. from the naumachia, also on the hill, and still without the city-walls, are the remains of a Corinthian work, which offered nothing remarkable in its construction ; and this completed all that fell within our notice on the outside of the city to the south of it.

On entering the city itself, by its southern gate, the passage is difficult, from the gateway being buried in its own ruins. Enough of it remains, however, to show the general design of three arched passages, as in the triumphal arch without ; and the order of architecture in both is the same. The walls of the city are here plainly to be traced, connected with the gate on both sides, going from it upward on the west over the rising ground, and descending from it on the east to go down over the brow of the hill, and lastly ascending from thence over the steep slope of the opposite or eastern hill.

On passing within this gate, the attention is suddenly arrested by the beautiful group of buildings which appear on the left, consisting of a peripteral temple, a theatre, and a circular colonnade. From the suddenness of the charm which this produces on the beholder, the actual deviation from a right line is not at all perceived, nor were we even aware of such an irregularity, until the relative positions and bearings of every object came to be set down on paper, in the delineation of the general plan. The spectator walks forward, unconscious of such a deviation ; and this illusion, which at first is principally caused by the splendour of the whole view, is considerably assisted by the front wall of the platform of masonry, built to support the foundations of the peripteral temple above it, and partly, perhaps, to aid the effect. As this wall is perfectly parallel with the direction of the line of movement in going toward the colonnade, and the view is directed to the centre of this great circle, the deception is completed on arriving there by a magnificent prospect of the principal street, which is lined by a continued avenue of columns, extending to the opposite gate of

the city on the north. Nothing could be more ingenious than this contrivance to hide an irregularity of plan. The nature of the ground seems not to have admitted the placing the gates of the city immediately opposite to each other, and having the street between them in a right line; but this defect is so happily veiled, that, I believe, many persons might enter it at one end, and quit it at the other, without at all perceiving it. *

The peripteral temple, which is the first building on entering the city from the south, stands on very elevated ground, and seems almost to hang on the brow of the hill. To support its foundations, and to extend the level space in front of it, a long pier of masonry has been constructed, which forms a sort of platform before the edifice, and on this is seen a small square building, with fragments of arched-work near it, the use of which is not apparent. †

The form of this temple is an oblong square, the front of which faces exactly E. by N. by compass. At this front stood a noble portico, formed by a double row of eight columns. Around the rest of the edifice was a single row of similar columns, eleven in number, on each side. In each side-wall, about half way up its height, were nine niches, answering to the intervals formed by the intercolumniation of the surrounding colonnade; and seven of these nine were still perfect. Whether they were intended to ornament the wall, or to contain statues, did not appear; but they presented nothing remarkable in their design. The masonry was everywhere smooth, and the outer frieze and cornice of the building was quite plain.

* A similarly ingenious arrangement, for concealing a deviation from a right line, is found in the beautiful temple of Philœ, at the Cataracts of the Nile, as is well delineated and illustrated by Denon, in his plans of the edifices on that island; and at Palmyra too, those accurate observers, Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, noticed a gateway which was so contrived, as that the two fronts faced at right angles with the respective streets which led from them, though these streets were not in one right line, as may be seen in their superb drawings and plans of the ruins there.

† No. 4. of the General Plan.

On entering this temple, nothing is seen but plain walls of smooth and good masonry, as on the outside, excepting that on each of the sides are seven pilasters, placed at equal distances, and reaching all the height of the building.* Two of them, on each wall, are injured, and five of them are still perfect. The dimensions of the temple within are thirty paces long by twenty broad. The principal door of entrance is that through the portico opening to the E. by N.; but it had, besides, a smaller door of entrance in the side wall, near the N. E. angle of the building, and opening to the N. N. W.

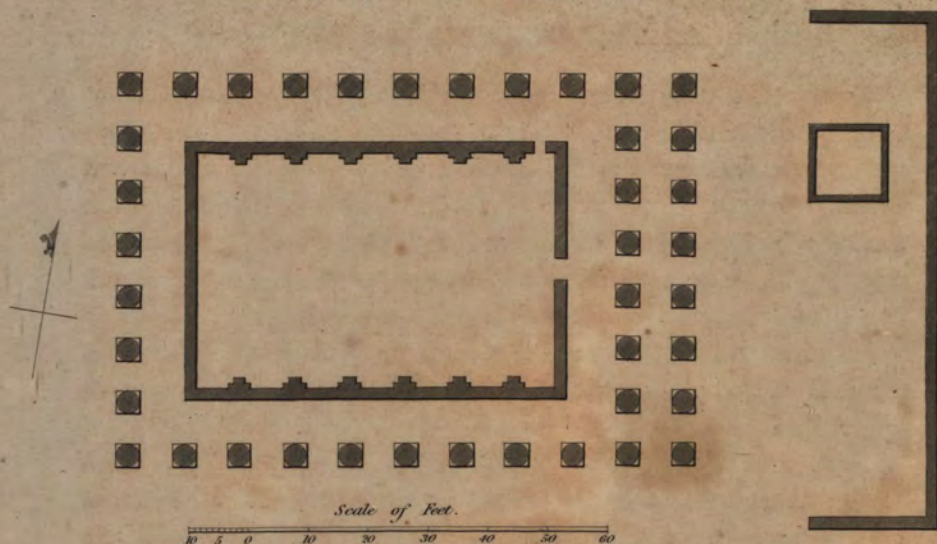
On each side the great door-way of the eastern front, were two fan-topped concave niches, corresponding with those on the sides, and, like them, facing the interval between the inner row of the columns of the portico; but no mention is made in our notes on the spot of any such niches in the back or western wall. There are no remains of either pediment or roof, and there are, certainly, not sufficient fragments or rubbish within the temple to be considered as the wreck formed by its falling in. Whether it had originally been a covered or an open temple we could not, therefore, decide.

Just above this building, to the westward, and still on higher ground, is a beautiful theatre, pressing close against the city wall, and opening exactly towards the north. This edifice, as may be seen by the annexed plan of it, was of a semicircular form, the seats for the spectators being ranged around the interior of the circular part, the arena before them in the centre, and the stage beyond that in front, with a closed scene.*

The front of this theatre, as measured by paces on the outer face of its scene, was about one hundred and twenty feet; and from the lowest seat of the semicircle, across the arena and stage, to the central door of the scene, just eighty feet. The seats are

* No. 5. of the General Plan, shows the position of this theatre.

PERIPTERAL TEMPLE AT GERAZA.



Scale of Feet.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60

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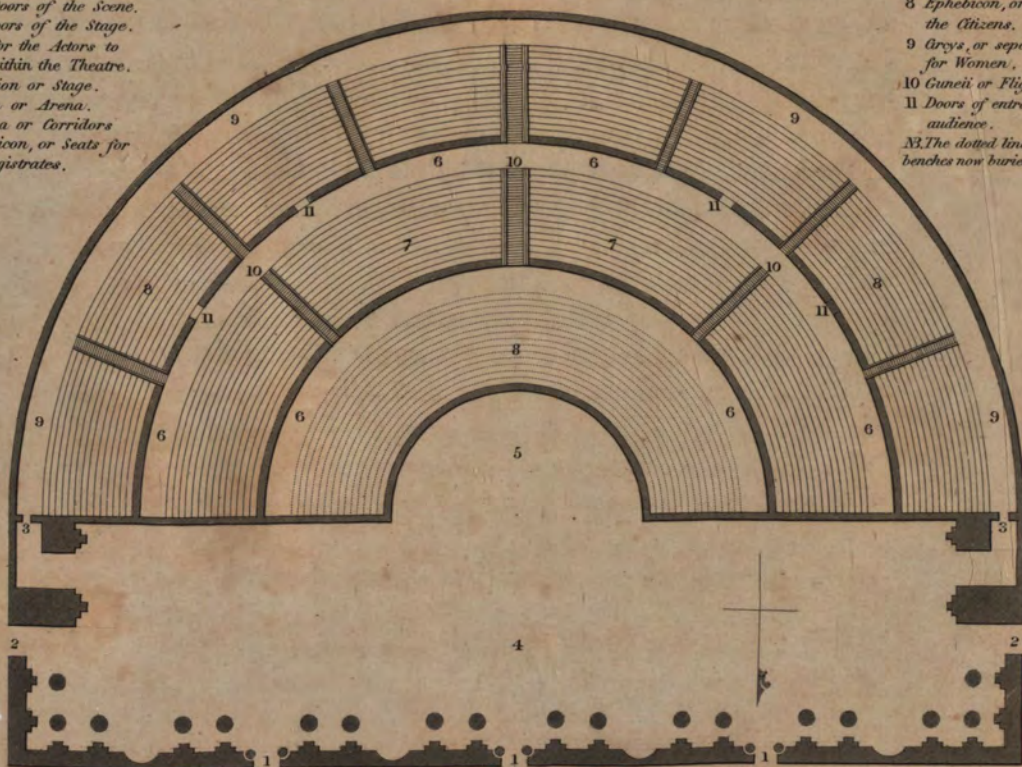
REFERENCES

- 1 Front Doors of the Scene.
- 2 Side Doors of the Stage.
- 3 Doors for the Actors to retire within the Theatre.
- 4 Proscenion or Stage.
- 5 Conistra or Arena.
- 6 Diazoma or Corridors
- 7 Bouleuticon, or Seats for the Magistrates.

THEATRE WITH CLOSED SCENE AT GERAZA.

REFERENCES

- 8 Ephebicicon, or Seats for the Citizens.
- 9 Arxys, or separate Gallery for Women.
- 10 Cunei or Flights of Steps.
- 11 Doors of entrance for the audience.
- 12 The dotted lines represent benches now buried in the ruins.



Scale of Feet.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

arranged in two divisions, now visible above ground, and those contain each fifteen rows of benches; but there is great reason to believe, from the accumulation of rubbish in the arena, that another similar division of seats is now hidden beneath it. These divisions were separated by a space for walking, formed by an interval equal to the breadth of two ranges of seats, and this space facilitated the passage of the spectators from one part of the theatre to the other. The lowermost of the two divisions now visible, was intersected by three flights of steps, in the form of rays, and placed at equal distances, the central one running up the whole height of both divisions, with a break at the passage between them; and the two others ending at that passage, without being continued in the same line above it. The upper division had, however, seven such flights of *cunei*, as they were called; the central one forming a continuation of that below, and being wider than the others, with a low balustrade on each side; and the other flights similar to the two smaller ones in the lower division, and placed three on each side at equal intervals.

Entering upon this platform of separation between the two divisions of benches described, which platform is just four feet in breadth, there are four door-ways, about equidistant from the ends of the semicircle, from the central flight of steps, and from each other. These doors were the terminations of arched passages running through the theatre, and going beneath the upper seats, as they led inward from the outer part of the semicircular wall. It was by these passages that the audience entered from without; and on coming upon this platform they could walk conveniently along it, until they were opposite to any particular part of the theatre desired, and either ascend to the higher or descend on the lower division of seats by the flights of steps already mentioned. For the ascent there were, as will be seen in the plan, seven distinct flights, while for the descent there were but three. The audience had, therefore, never occasion to pass through the arena,

or open central space below, nor in any way to approach near to the stage.

The interior of the closed front, or scene, presented a great richness of effect, from the lavish decoration and profusion of architectural ornament which was displayed there. The order observed throughout was Corinthian. The accumulation of rubbish, added to the fallen fragments of its own ruins, has occasioned the pavement of the stage to be entirely covered; and even the door-ways are some of them buried nearly up to their architraves. But still enough is seen to trace the design of the whole.

In this scene there are three doors, placed at about equal distances from each other, and from the angles of the building in front. The central door is square at the head, and is the largest of the three; the two others, one on each side of it, are arched. There are four niches placed, one between and one on the sides of each of the three doors. The two nearest the angles of the building have triangular pediments, and are highly ornamented.

A range of columns extends along the interior of the front, or facing toward the audience; and, with reference to them, behind the stage, or between the stage and the scene. The intercolumniation of these is irregular, from their being made to leave the interval, opposite the front doors, clear. They are, therefore, disposed in four divisions, of four pillars each. These cover the space of wall in which the niches are; the niches being seen through the intercolumniation of the two central pillars of each. Behind each of these rows of four pillars, are four pilasters, corresponding in order, size, and position, and placed, like the columns, two beside each niche. In addition to this, there is, on both sides of each of the three front doors, a smaller Corinthian column, standing in a sort of recess. Some of these columns do not want much of their full proportion of height, as measured by their diameters; though the doors beside which they stand are, as was before said, buried nearly up to their architraves. These, at first sight, produced the impression that the architect had observed, in

this scene, what is called order upon order, or the erection of a story of one order of architecture over another of a different one. There were no other appearances that corroborated or confirmed this suspicion, however, so that the pedestals on which these columns stood must either have been unusually high, or they rose from a surbasement, or something similar, beneath. It would have been an interesting task, had we possessed the means and time to effect it, to have cleared away the whole of the rubbish down to the very pavement of the stage. It occurred to Mr. Bankes, that, notwithstanding the ruin of some parts of this edifice, it was, perhaps, on the whole, the most perfect Roman theatre now remaining in the world. He had himself seen all those of Italy; and in Greece we know how much they are destroyed; and he remembered none so perfect as this, more particularly as to these most interesting parts, its stage and scene. The complete examination of this would, therefore, have thrown much light on the nature of such structures among the Romans, and would have helped us to understand more, perhaps, of their stage management, of scenery, entrance, exit, &c. than we now know. We even thought it probable, that some of the statues which once filled the niches above, might be found in a tolerably perfect state on clearing away this rubbish; as if we sought out causes to increase our regret, at not being able to put our desires into execution. We drew back often to look upon the whole, admiring the rich decorations of the Corinthian order, displayed in all its pomp on this small, but highly finished work.

Besides the doors of the front, there were also two larger side-doors, that led directly upon the stage from without; used, probably, for the entrance and exit of the actors, during the exhibition of the play. These doors were more spacious, and coarser in their construction, than the others, and the passages over them were arched. There were yet two other doors, which led from an arched passage that went round under the lower seats of the theatre, into the open central space, or arena; and we conceived

that it was here the actors themselves made their first entry, coming by this arched passage from some general room of preparation on each side, and passing immediately on the stage. The musicians, and others concerned in the shows, might, perhaps, have entered here: for it is observed of ancient theatres, that there were two kinds of doors; the one led to the open air, the other was for going into or coming out of the cloisters, that those within the theatres might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, divided into partitions, also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants and to the musicians to go out, as occasion required. *

The theatre was entirely open above, nor were there any appearances of its ever having been roofed. It faced towards the north, probably that the audience might be thus shaded from a southern sun, and might receive the cool breezes which usually blow from that quarter; two luxuries worthy of being obtained by every possible means, in a climate so warm as this is during the greater part of the year.

So little appears to remain of any ancient descriptions of these edifices, that one may be forgiven for an attempt to supply that deficiency, by minute details of such features of them as we find in their ruins, and by a comparison of what we observed here, with the accounts given us of similar structures in other places. In this task it may be permitted to use the information contained in an obscure, but highly interesting, and, we may say, learned paper, inserted originally in the Gentleman's Magazine, but without a name. † This ingenious writer observes, that ancient authors have treated of the construction of theatres but obscurely and imperfectly. Vitruvius has given us no account, either of their dimen-

* Josephus, in his account of the assassination of Caligula, at a theatre in Rome. Ant. Jud. l. xix. c. 1, § 13.

† See the selection of curious articles from this work, as recommended to the editor originally by the celebrated Gibbon, and since published in four volumes, octavo. vol. i. p. 201.

sions, or of the number of their principal and constituting parts, presuming, I suppose, that they had been well enough known, or could never have perished. Among the more modern writers, the learned Scaliger has omitted the most essential parts; and the citations of Bullingerus from Hesychius, Eustathius, Suidas, and others, throw but an imperfect light on the real construction of ancient theatres. In the description of the first Athenian theatre, dedicated to Bacchus, and built by the famous architect, Philo, in the time of Pericles, it is said that the diameter was just one hundred Athenian feet, and that from thence it derived its name of Hecatompædon.

We see, therefore, that this theatre of Geraza was of larger dimensions than that of Bacchus at Athens, notwithstanding that this last, the ruins of which, upwards of two centuries ago, were measured by M^{ons}. de la Guiliatière, was then considered to be a monument of ancient magnificence worthy of being preserved. In the theatre at Athens, there was a part of the area, which comprehended fourteen feet of the diameter, that did not belong precisely to the theatre, being behind the scene; whereas, in this at Geraza, the breadth of the scene itself is a hundred and twenty feet from east to west, without any deduction; and the distance between the lowest range of seats, now above the rubbish, and the central door of that scene, is eighty feet; the remaining part of the seats, in thickness, making more than the remaining twenty feet; so that there is, therefore, one hundred feet full and complete within the scene, whichever way its diameter be taken.

Of the Athenian edifice it is said, the theatre itself was separated into two principal divisions; one for the spectators, and the other for the representations. The parts designed for the spectators were the *conistra*, which the Romans called *arena*; the rows or benches, the little stairs, and the gallery, called *cirtys*. The parts appropriated to the actors, were, the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, the *proscenion*, and the *scene*. In that part of the edifice allotted to the spectators, were twenty-four rows of seats, or

benches, ascending gradually one above the other, and proceeding round the *conistra*, or *arena*, in an arch of a circle to the stage, which the Greeks called *proscenion*. These benches were distinguished, eight and eight, by three corridors, or passages, which were called *diazoma*. They were of the same figure with the rows of seats, and were contrived for the passage of the spectators from one story to another, without incommoding those who were already placed. For the same convenience, there were stairs that passed from one corridor to another, across the several rows; and near those stairs there were doors, by which the people entered from the galleries on the outside, and took their places according to their rank and distinction. The best places were in the middle division, containing eight rows of seats, between the eighth and seventeenth; this division was called *bouleuticon*, and designed for the magistrates; the other rows were called *ephebicon*, and were for the citizens after they were eighteen years of age.

This description would have answered, with scarcely any variation, for the theatre at Geraza, as well as for that of Bacchus at Athens; and this being the first that was erected in that cradle of fine architecture, it will follow that the Romans, whose country of the Decapolis was a colony of their empire, had as yet made no deviation from the pure taste and chaste proportion of their primitive Greek models, in the construction of their theatres at least.

The *conistra*, or *arena*, the benches, the stairs, and the gallery, called the *circus*, which was the upper range of all, still remained perfect here; but the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, and the *proscenion*, or stage, were hidden beneath the fallen fragments of the upper part of the scene, in which, as before described, even its own doors were nearly buried. We see here, however, that as there were appearances of a third division of benches being also buried beneath these fallen fragments, the number of these divisions would then be three, as in the theatre of Bacchus; and as the doors from without all led into the corridor, or *diazoma*, just

above the central division, it was equally probable that this division formed the *bouleuticon* for the people of rank and distinction; and that the upper and lower divisions, which were not so easy of access, were the *ephebicôn* for the citizens generally.

In the theatre of Bacchus, the whole number of the benches contained only twenty-four rows, in three divisions of eight each. At Geraza there were thirty rows, in two of fifteen each, now visible above the rubbish, which, as it covered the arena and the doors of the scene nearly up to their architraves, no doubt hid beneath it another division of probably several ranges of seats, so that the number of such ranges was greater considerably than in that at Athens.

The height of those rows of benches in the theatre of Bacchus is said to have been thirteen inches; and their breadth about twenty-two inches; the lowest bench was near four feet high from the level of the floor; the height and breadth of the corridors and passages was double the height and breadth of the benches. The sides of the stairs passing from the body of the edifice towards the stage, were not parallel, for the space betwixt them grew sharper as they came near the *conistra* or arena, and ended in the figure of a wedge, whence the Romans called them *cunei*. To prevent the falling down of the rain upon those steps, there were penthouses set up to carry off the water.

The height of each of the rows of benches in the theatre here, was just three spans, or about two feet, nearly double the height of those in the theatre of Bacchus. As we sat on them ourselves for trial, we found this, however, a very convenient height, particularly as the back was not supported. Our feet had just sufficient repose to keep the body at ease, when in an erect posture, without lounging. The height of thirteen inches, if that was the standard used by Philos, seems too low, as this of twenty-four may be thought perhaps too high, for comfort. Those of the great Roman Amphitheatre at Nismes, constructed in the age of Antoninus Pius, and capable of holding twenty thousand spectators, are said to have

been from eighteen to twenty-two inches high, which is a medium between those of Athens and of Geraza, and the lowest of those numbers is about the standard at present given to our chairs and domestic seats; though I think the seats of our theatres are nearer the Athenian measure, but even these are still above it. The breadth of the seats at Geraza was exactly the same as their height, or three spans; and each row was neatly finished in front by a rounded moulding, cut out of the same stone as formed the benches, and adding both to the beauty of the edifice and to the comfort of the audience in sitting. The ranges of seats continued all around the semicircle, without being interrupted by any species of division throughout their whole length, gave a simple grandeur to the effect produced by these unbroken sweeps of the circle, rising in continued succession one above another. The blocks of the benches were much longer than the breadth necessary for one person, so that the space for one individual seat was in no way defined. Mr. Banks thought that he had seen Greek letters engraved on them, and conjectured that they might have served as numbers; but after a very careful examination this did not appear to me to be the case, and it is most probable that they might have been some of the arbitrary signs of the workmen for their guidance in the succession of the blocks, as such signs are very commonly seen in ancient Roman masonry.

The height and breadth of the *corridors* or *diazoma* were greater also at Geraza than at Athens, as those were exactly double the height and breadth of the benches; but these were four paces, or about eight feet broad, and of a sufficient height to admit of the doors of entrance being at least six feet high, which ought to have been the case too at Athens, one would think, as these doors occupied exactly the same place there. The flights of stairs descended here from the body of the theatre towards the stage in exactly the same way as in the theatre of Bacchus, the space between them growing narrower as they approached the *conistra* or

arena, and ending in the figure of a wedge, which gave to them their Roman name of *cunei*. But there were no appearances of there ever having been a penthouse over these to carry off the rain, though this is nearly as wet a climate as that of Greece, in its seasons, of the early and the latter rains. The only thing we remarked in these was, that the central flight was broader than the others, and went in a straight line from the bottom of the benches to the top; and that the others were all very narrow, but easy of ascent, the height of each step seeming to be not above a span or eight inches.

Above the upper *corridor*, in the theatre of Bacchus, there was a gallery, called *circys*, for the women, where those who were infamous or irregular in their lives were not permitted to enter. At the very top of the theatre here, or above the uppermost row of benches, was a broad walk, which might rather be called the upper corridor itself than a gallery above it; so that it was not quite evident that there was a *circys* here for the exclusive accommodation of women, under the salutary regulations mentioned.

The Athenian theatre, it is said, was not so capacious as that which was built in Rome by Marcus Scaurus, the *Ædile*; for, in that, there was room for seventy-nine thousand persons; in this, there was room for six thousand only.

It is observed, that it could not contain less; for the suffrages of the people were taken in it, and by the Athenian laws six thousand suffrages were requisite to make a decree of the people authentic. As the dimensions of the theatre of Geraza, as well as the number of its rows of seats, is greater than that of Bacchus, it follows that it would accommodate a greater number of spectators.

An author of character, who wrote a book descriptive of the remains of ancient art at Nîmes, in calculating the number of possible spectators that the amphitheatre of Antoninus Pius, at that place, was capable of holding, allowed a space of twenty inches to each person. Seventeen, however, were thought sufficient by

the gentleman who furnishes this information *; and he suggests, I think with great plausibility, that in crowded assemblies fourteen inches is as much space as each person, on an average, separately occupies. Those who are curious in such matters, might easily make the calculation to a nicety, having the dimensions of the building and the space for an individual already given. From a rough estimate of my own, the two divisions, or thirty rows of seats now above the rubbish, would hold six thousand seven hundred and fifty; so that, on the whole, eight thousand might be within the number it would contain when perfect. Even this is, I believe, a much greater number than the largest theatre now existing would hold; as it was said, when this account of the amphitheatre at Nismes was written, that the largest theatre in Europe, which was then the Opera House at Paris, did not contain even three thousand.

Of all that part of the theatre which belonged to the actors, and its arrangement into the orchestra, the *logeon* or *thymele*, and the *proscenion* or *stage*, we could observe nothing here to assist a comparison, as all this part which occupied the arena was now covered with ruins. The scene, however, which is defined to be "the columns and ornaments in architecture, raised from the foundation and upon the sides of the proscenion for its beauty and decoration," was here very lavishly ornamented with all the richness of the Corinthian order! Agatarchus, it is said, was the first architect who found out the way of adorning scenes by the rules of perspective, and Æschylus assisted him; but we observed nothing of such a use of artificial perspective here.

The theatre of Regilla, not far from the temple of Theseus at Athens, was covered by a magnificent roof of cedar. The Odeon, or theatre for music, was covered likewise; but no part of the theatre of Bacchus was covered, except the proscenion or stage for

* Anonymous. — In a letter descriptive of the amphitheatre at Nismes, following the description of the first Athenian theatre, in the selections from the Gentleman's Magazine.

the security of the actors, and the circys for the shelter of the females, to whom this place was peculiarly assigned. From the appearance of the upper part of the scene here, compared with the fallen fragments and large blocks of stone which filled the arena, it did not appear that sufficient of the scene could have been destroyed to furnish so great a quantity of fragments. It is therefore probable, that the proscenion might have been roofed, and that the masses now lying on the ground might be portions of its fallen masonry; but with regard to the circys, as before remarked, it was not certain that any such division of the theatre existed.

The Athenians, in visiting their theatres, which were mostly exposed to the air, came usually, it is said, with great cloaks to secure them from the rain or the cold; and for defence against the sun they had the *sciadion*, a kind of parasol, which the Romans used also in their theatres by the name of *umbrellæ*, but when a sudden storm arose, the play was interrupted, and the spectators dispersed. This must have been the case here also, unless temporary awnings or tent-roofs were used, which is perhaps the more probable, from the very obvious advantage and convenience of such a shelter, without its being made permanent enough to intrude upon the harmony, the beauty, or the simple grandeur of the edifice, as a piece of noble architecture.

In Athens, the scene of the temple of Bacchus looked toward the Acropolis; the Cynosages, a suburb of Athens, was behind it; the Musæon, a hill so called from the poet Musæus, was on the right hand; and the public road, leading to the Piræum, or the harbour of Athens, was on the other side.

The choice of a commanding eminence and an extensive and beautiful prospect had been judiciously made for the site of this theatre of Geraza. Also to the spectators, as they faced its stage and scene, the whole range of their public buildings was open, and their temples, palaces, squares, and baths, might all be proudly enumerated as they sat. On their right, was the magnificent circus, formed by the Ionic colonnade, with the peripteral temple

near it, and the city-gate close by. Behind them, the naumachia and the triumphal arch would still proclaim the splendour of their favoured abode; while the general landscape of mountain, slope, and valley, presented on all sides a picture of the grand and the sublime in its outline forms, and of the rich and beautiful in the varied shades of its fertile clothing:

The circular colonnade, the diameter of which is one hundred and twenty paces, or about two hundred and forty feet, appears to have marked the boundaries of an hippodromus, or of a chariot-course. A circumference of less than eight hundred feet would scarcely be considered sufficient for such a place, but the hippodromus at Alexandria, which I have seen, is scarcely larger; though that city, in the time of its glory, was inferior only to Rome itself in magnificence. The opinion that this was a course, was suggested by the sight of the lower part of the shaft of a pillar, still erect, occupying its original place, exactly facing the line of the great street, and standing at ten paces, or twenty feet within the general line of the circle towards the centre, allowing, therefore, that breadth for the passage of the chariots. There are vestiges of a former pavement near this post, which is also correspondent with that at Alexandria, where the granite column, supposed to mark the goal, is seated on a rock that has been levelled away like a pavement, in which the ruts of the chariot-wheels are still discernible. There are now remaining erect fifty-six columns of this circle; the others have fallen, and lie at intervals as marked in the plan. *

The order of the architecture is Ionic, but resembling more the Attic than the Asiatic Ionian in its details, though less beautiful and less chaste than either. The columns are without pedestals, and their shafts, which are about two feet in diameter, are not fluted. They are not of one block, but composed in general of three or four pieces; and from the surfaces of each of these pieces project,

* No. 6. in the General Plan.

at stated intervals, but not in perpendicular lines, little knobs left in the stone, as if to support the ropes of a scaffolding, or of awnings or curtains between the pillars. These projections are visible only from a very short distance, so that they do not at all intrude upon the general effect of the architecture. The volutes of the capitals are gracefully turned; and the cymatium, which is thought to have been intended to represent the front locks of women, pending on the forehead, as the volutes were the side curls of the Ephesian ladies, is also well executed. The echinus or egg-like band, the astragal or beaded one, and the fillet, which were all common to both Roman and Grecian Ionic capitals, possessed nothing peculiar here.

The colonnade supported only an entablature, which we had no opportunity of measuring, but it appeared to us to be deficient in the depth requisite for grandeur of appearance; for, notwithstanding the elegance of the Ionic order, it partakes, on the whole, more of the majestic gravity of the Doric, than of the rich exuberance of the Corinthian. The columns appeared to be nearer the standard of eight diameters, than the modern one of nine. The height of the capital was rather above than below the ancient measure of two-thirds of the diameter. But the entablature, which it is thought should be equal to one-fourth of the whole height, where grandeur as well as elegance is required, was certainly less than that proportion. In the entablatures of Asiatic Ionics, it is said, that denticulated cornices were always used, the dentil being supposed to represent a beautiful row of teeth. This, from its never being omitted, was considered as much a part of the Ionic order, as the metopes and triglyphs of the frieze were a part of the Doric; and both of them were held to be as characteristic of their respective orders as the capitals themselves. But in most of the remains of Ionic buildings at Athens, these dentils are omitted; and this appeared to us to have been the case also in the Ionic buildings at Geraza.

The intercolumniation was aræostyle; the intervals between each

pillar being fully equal to four diameters throughout. The only breaks in the circle, where the entablature was discontinued, were at the space opening to the great street on the north, and at a similar space fronting the façade of the peripteral temple and the city-gate on the south. The whole wore a light and elegant appearance, yet, from its size and form, produced at the same time a very grand and noble effect. As it was the first object that arrested the attention on entering the city, so was it conspicuously seen from almost every part of it; besides which, it was the prominent object that presented itself to the spectator when viewing these ruins from afar, in every direction of approach to them.

The street leading from the northern end of this circular hippodromus through the whole length of the town, is lined on each side with a colonnade of the Corinthian order, supporting also an entablature. The pillars rested on the edge of a raised causeway, which was ascended to on each side by steps, whether two or three in number we could not easily determine; and the width of the street measured about thirty feet, as well as it could be paced over the masses of fallen ruins which blocked up every part of the way. The columns stand on pedestals, the square part of the base being not more than one-fourth of a diameter in height; and above the torus are two cylindric convex mouldings, with a concave one between them, but without astragals. This is known to have been the pedestal most frequently used by the Romans in the Corinthian buildings; though it is thought, by those most conversant in the history of architecture, that the chastest and purest specimens of all the orders are without pedestals.

The shafts of all these pillars were plain, and they were mostly composed of three or four pieces. We remarked in them this peculiarity, which was visible also in the shafts of the Ionic columns at the hippodromus, that they began to swell in diameter at about one-third of their height upward from the base, and continued to increase that diameter sensibly to the eye until near their centre, when they diminished in a somewhat greater pro-

portion from thence to the setting on of the capital. The sculpture of the foliage on these capitals appeared to us to be good, though the material of which all the edifices here are constructed being a firm yellow sand-stone, is not so favourable for the work of the chisel as marble would have been, nor does it seemingly admit of any polish. The entablature supported by this colonnade is that which is common to the order, being formed, as is thought, from the mixture of the Doric and Ionic, of which the dentil, echinus, and astragal of the last, are the most prominent features of the cornice; though in the time of Vitruvius it is certain that there was no entablature strictly proper to the order, for he says that both Doric and Ionic entablatures were supported by Corinthian columns, and that it was the columns alone, without reference to their entablatures, which constituted this order.* The diameter of the shafts of these pillars is not more than three feet in the largest part, and the highest appears to the eye to be in a just proportion to this.

Following this principal street towards the north, the columns on the right are found to be mostly fallen; but there are fewer of those on the left that are displaced. After passing the first thirteen still erect, with the intervals marked on the plan, there are seen on each side four large columns of nearly double the diameter of the others. These did not belong to the front of any particular building, as far as we could trace; but, like the smaller ones, support only their entablatures, and thus form two tetrastyles in the midst of the general line of the respective avenues, and exactly facing each other. As these columns, from their greater diameter, were necessarily higher in the same proportion than the others, there was an interruption of the line of the smaller entablature, the end of which now abutted against the shaft of the larger pillar. For the support of this, there was a bracket left to project from that shaft, cut out of the same block of stone, in

* Lib. iv. c. 1.

the way that the brackets for statues are seen to project from the columns at Palmyra, and on this the termination of the smaller entablature rested. The tetrastyle was then crowned with its own entablature, differing in nothing but its size from the smaller one; and the last column of it having, like the first, a bracket projecting from its shaft. The entablature of the smaller pillars rested on this, and the colonnade then proceeded onward of its former size. The whole had a great resemblance to some of the Palmyrene edifices, where the introduction of larger columns in different numbers, from tetrastyle to decastyle, is frequently seen in the same line with a colonnade of smaller ones.

Beyond these, to the north, and on the eastern side of the street, are the remains of some large building, which possessed an extensive façade towards the avenue; but as the only remains of this edifice now to be seen are broken columns and demolished walls, it was not easy for us to pronounce on the peculiar use to which it had been appropriated.

Immediately at the termination of the wall of this building, is a small square, formed by the intersection of the principal street, by another crossing it at right angles, from east to west. It was just before reaching this, or between it and the large pillars just described, and consequently opposite to the front of the dilapidated building; that a broken column was found lying on the ground, with the fragment of a Greek inscription on the shaft. The characters were almost obliterated; but, after considerable labour, and many doubts as to the form of particular letters in the course of it, I was enabled to make a copy of as much of it as could be traced. No one line, I conceive, was made out perfectly: though I believe that there were not originally any greater number of lines in the whole than those transcribed.

The square spoken of as being just beyond where this inscription was met with, and formed by the intersection of the principal street, had four large pedestals, disposed at each of the angles of it,

and their fronts placed in right lines with the fronts of the colonnades leading along the street itself. In each face of these pedestals were small, concave, and fan-topped niches, probably for statues, as the ancients are known to have appropriated such niches to their reception. There were fragments of small Corinthian shafts and capitals near them, lying on the ground, so that there might have been also larger statues on the pedestals themselves, inclosed perhaps within peristyles, as is sometimes seen in the statues of rural gods in modern pleasure-grounds; and as was occasionally used by the ancients in their gardens.

The cross-street, running here from east to west, led up from the brow of the eastern hill, overlooking the valley below, and was continued from thence to the city-wall, in the opposite direction. It crossed the principal street exactly at right angles, was of the same general character and dimensions, and was lined also with a Corinthian colonnade, supporting an entablature on each side. There were, upon the whole, about thirty of the columns still erect, but the places of all those that had fallen could be easily traced; and indeed most of their pedestals occupied their original positions. There did not appear to us to be any edifices worthy of remark in this street, so that we did not follow it through all its parts, but were content to catch its general features, as given in the plan.

Pursuing the direction of the principal street to the northward, the next edifice met with, beyond the square of intersection, is a large Corinthian one on the left, receding several paces backward from the line of the street itself, and having a noble portico, of which three columns are still standing in front. From the remains of this edifice, it appears rather to have been a palace, or a public building of a civil nature, than a temple; which may be said also of the one before mentioned, on the other side of the square. Opposite to this palace, we observed a range of octagonal pedestals, of great height and diameter, which were not designed, as far

as we could judge, for the support of pillars; but must either have borne statues on them in front of this building, or have answered some other purpose of ornament or utility which we could not devise.

Next in order beyond this, going still to the north, is a small semicircular portion of what we now perceived to be a very spacious building, extending both to the north and to the south of this as a centre, and having, opposite to it, on the western side of the street, another very large building in a ruined condition. The portico which stood in front of this semicircle, which must have been always open to the great street, was formed of four noble Corinthian columns, of six spans, or four feet, in diameter; three of them being still erect, and the fourth fallen. The ornaments of the order, in the frieze, cornice, pediments, &c. of this little sanctuary, were lavished here in all the exuberance of decoration. From some fragments of Egyptian rose-granite, and a pretty large piece of a shaft of that costly material, found among the rubbish, it was evident that pillars of it had been used here. There were still standing some small columns, of about eighteen inches in diameter, of a fine yellow marble, which retained its polish, and other pillars of this stone had fallen.

From the frieze of this semicircular sanctuary, we copied a short and imperfect inscription; and we observed that the niches above this, which were crowned with rich pediments and probably designed for statues, were stuccoed on the inside, and painted with successive lines of small pyramidal figures, in green and yellow, both of which colours were still remarkably fresh. * * *

It was just in front of this semicircular sanctuary, (for the superior richness of its ornament, and the costliness of the materials used in its decoration naturally induced us to call it so,) that the inscribed altar lay broken and reversed as we had at first seen it, but

* See the position of this building, in No. 7. of the General Plan.

from which a copy was afterwards with some difficulty obtained.

The letters on this altar were better shaped, and more distinctly engraved, than those which were seen on the inscribed pillar; but in both of them the characters might be said to have been badly executed, and without regard to uniformity of size or shape, as may be seen in the copies of them in which these particulars are as accurately preserved as circumstances would admit of at the time of their being transcribed.

There are appearances of one continued line of building from the semicircular sanctuary to the palace, which is near the centre of the city, or at least of the western portion of it. The front of this is still entire, and leaves no doubt that the edifice was a place of residence, and not a temple. A small and exceedingly narrow staircase, in which even two children could not pass each other, leads from one side of the front entrance below, to one of the windows above, and seems to have been contrived for some secret purpose, as it is impossible that frequent or public use could have been made of it. Though the front is nearly perfect, the whole of the interior of this building is rased to the ground.*

Behind this, to the westward, on more elevated ground, is a large ruined building, which we did not minutely examine, but just remarked its position and its size, which are noted in the Plan.*

Opposite to this palace, immediately in front of it, on the eastern side of the street, is the long-extended façade of a Corinthian temple, with a semi-circular termination to the eastward. The façade is that of a spacious and grand edifice, and the workmanship, seen in the interior range of columns still erect, proves also that the execution of the details was equal to the design of the whole.

The most imposing edifice among all these ruins, both for size,

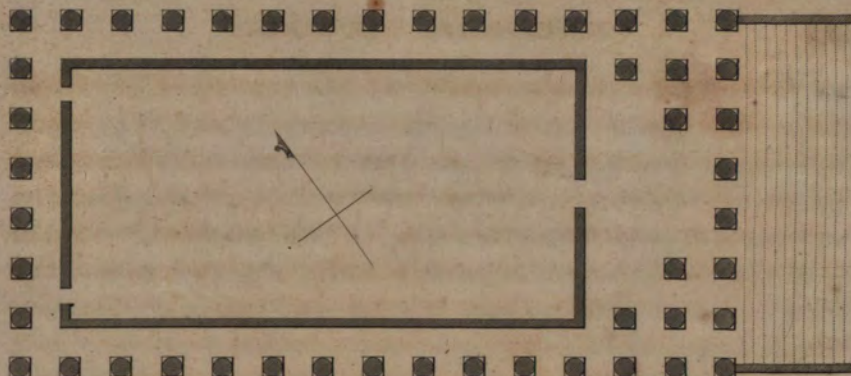
* No. 9. in the General Plan.

grandeur, and commanding situation, is a large Corinthian temple, to the W. N. W. of the palace last described; and not far from the western boundary of the city wall.* The impression which the noble aspect of this building made on us, as we beheld it from every quarter of the city, was such, that we both constantly called it the "Temple of Jupiter," in our conversation, and in our notes. This was done without our ever suggesting the propriety of the title to each other, without our having sought for any reason to justify its adoption, or at all arguing the claim in our minds; but as if the proud pre-eminence which it seemed to possess over all the other buildings, could not be otherwise expressed than by its dedication to the greatest of all the gods; and since this high title was thus so unconsciously, and simultaneously given to it by us both, we suffered it to remain unaltered, as at least an appropriate one to distinguish it from the rest.

This edifice is built in the form of an oblong square, and is seventy paces, or about one hundred and forty feet, in extreme length; and thirty-five paces, or seventy feet, in extreme breadth. Its front is open to the S. E. by E. and there is here a noble portico of twelve columns, disposed in three rows, six in the front row, four in the central one, and two only in the inner one; the intervals being left on the centre on each side of the door of entrance, and the end or side columns being thus in a line with each other. There was a low wall carried out on each side of this portico, to the distance of thirty feet in front, and as the pillars stand on an elevated platform, it is probable that the interval here was occupied by a flight of steps leading up to the temple, but of these there are now no remains. This edifice appears also to have been a peripteral one, or to have been surrounded by a colonnade on all sides, including the portico in front. The bases of the pillars are still seen in their places, and shafts and capitals lie scattered all around. These are all of the same size and order as

* No. 10. of the General Plan.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT GERAZA.



Scale of Feet.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

REFERENCES

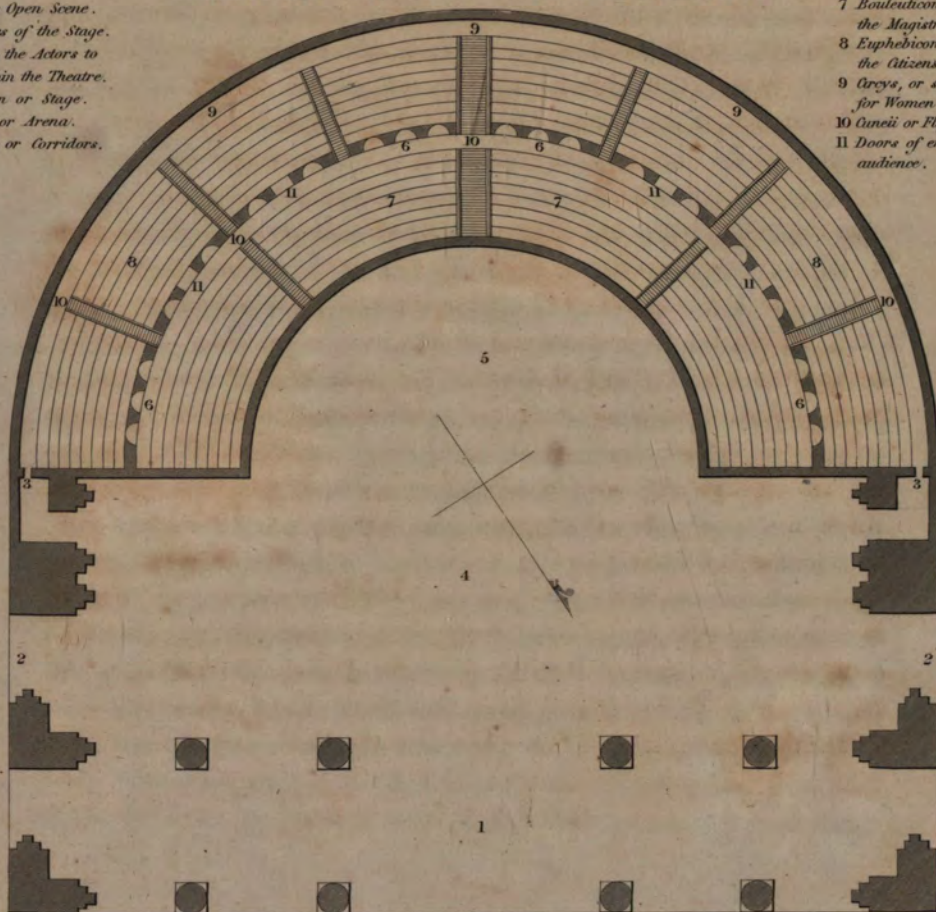
- 1 Portico or Open Scene.
- 2 Side Doors of the Stage.
- 3 Doors for the Actors to retire within the Theatre.
- 4 Proscenion or Stage.
- 5 Conistra or Arena.
- 6 Diazoma or Corridors.

THEATRE WITH OPEN SCENE AT GERAZA.

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REFERENCES

- 7 Bouleuticon, or Seats for the Magistrates.
- 8 Euphebicon, or Seats for the Citizens.
- 9 Argy's, or separate Gallery for Women.
- 10 Caneii or Flights of Steps.
- 11 Doors of entrance for the audience.



Scale of Feet.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

those of the portico, and leave but little doubt of their belonging originally to the exterior colonnade of this building. The whole number of the columns of the portico are still standing, and these being eight spans, or nearly six feet in diameter, and about fifty feet in height, have an air of great grandeur and majesty, and present the most happy combination of strength and beauty. The pedestals of the columns are the same as those described in the avenue of the principal street below: The shafts are plain, and swell slightly towards their centres. The capitals are well executed, and the union of the separate parts of which the shafts are composed, presents the most admirable specimen of ancient masonry; for even at this late period, the lines of their union are often difficult to be traced. These pieces were united by a large square bar of metal, going down their centre, and forming a sort of common axis to them all. The separate blocks were marked with Greek letters on the inside, near these square holes for the reception of the metal bar, as I myself observed on the blocks of a fallen shaft near the north-east angle of the building, and these marks were, no doubt, for the guidance of the workmen, in fitting every piece into its proper place. Whether, therefore, regarding the strength of those noble columns, the chaste beauty of their proportions in the details of all their parts, the admirable execution of the masonry and the sculpture, or the majestic and imposing aspect of the whole, we could not but admire the taste and skill of the ancients in this sublime art of architecture.

It must not be concealed, however, that on entering the building, a feeling of disappointment was experienced at finding it so little correspondent with the magnificence of all that is seen from without. An observation of a writer, who treats of the temples of the ancients, occurred to me very forcibly here, though, when I first met with this remark it did not appear to me quite correct, from its inapplicability to the temples of the Egyptians, which were then the only ones that I had seen. This writer says, "I am sufficiently apprised of what strikes the imagination, and raises

it to such romantic heights whilst we attend to the descriptions of ancient temples ; it was the prodigious number of columns they were enriched with, that enchants us. How can we avoid believing an edifice to be extremely vast, that is supported by a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pillars. We have seen Gothic churches, with not above forty or fifty, wide enough to lose ourselves in. How vast then, we say, must the temples have been which had twice or thrice that number ? The mistake of the fancy arises from this,—that it places within the body of the temple, or in the cella, that which really stood without it. It should be noted, in general, that this cella was the least object of the old architects' care ; they never began to think about it before they had distributed and adorned the exterior, because that was to be the proof of genius, taste, and magnificence. The grand was not then estimated by the number of square feet contained in the area which the wall enclosed, but from their outworks of an hundred and twenty columns, as those of Hadrian's Pantheon ; or of thirty-six only, as those of the temple of Theseus. From the ruins of Athens, it even appears that the richness and extent of the outworks were sometimes the very cause of contracting the cella within a narrower space than might have been otherwise allotted it."

The interior of this temple of Jupiter, at Geraza, which proudly promised so much from without, from its spacious atrium, its noble vestibulum, and its surrounding porticoes and colonnades, was found to consist simply of one square cella, without any of the subdivisions of basilica, adytum, penetrale, or sacrarium. Around the side-walls, and about half-way up their height, were six oblong recesses, without ornament. In the end-wall was a much larger one, arched at the top, which, rising from the level of the pavement, and occupying the centre of the end-wall, was, probably, the tribunal, or the place in which stood the statue of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. On each side of this large recess, was a small arched door-way, and above these two small recesses, as in the side-walls ; while above the supposed tribunal,

was a shallow semi-circular recess, occupying the centre of the wall. There was no appearance of either a pediment or a roof to the building, nor were there sufficient fragments on the inside to induce us to suppose that it had fallen in. Whether, therefore, it was originally an hypæthrum, or an open temple, it was not easy to decide. It may be remarked, however, that the rough state of many parts of the interior seemed to indicate that the building had never been completely finished.

The exterior of the cella walls was of smooth and good masonry, and had neither niches nor pilasters throughout its height. In the front wall, however, on each side of the principal door of entrance, leading from the portico, were two recesses, like blank side-doors, crowned with Corinthian pediments. The ornament of the architrave, both in these, and in the principal door itself, was palm-leaves thickly over-lapping each other by successive layers in a horizontal direction, and advancing towards the centre, where their points met.

After the most diligent search, not the vestige of an inscription could be found here to assist our conjectures on the age of the building, the name of its founder, or the god to whose honour it had been reared.

Along the south-west side of this temple, and parallel with the direction of its side-wall, the remains of an extensive colonnade are seen, the line of which stands at about the distance of fifty yards from the body of the temple itself; and, probably, marked the enclosure of the atrium, or court, which, when perfect, must have added greatly to the magnificent aspect of the whole. This colonnade was also of the Corinthian order, and supported its own entablature, blocks of which, as well as capitals and shafts, are seen scattered near the line of its original direction. There are, also, appearances of a second or inner colonnade, of the same order, surrounding the temple at an intermediate distance, or about twenty-five yards from it. This might either have marked an

inner division of the atrium, or have been the original one; and the more distant colonnade, whose circuit around the temple is not so distinctly marked as this, might then have belonged to some other work adjoining it.

The next remarkable edifice beyond this, to the north-east, after passing some buildings in the way, which are too much in ruins to be worth a description, is a second theatre, somewhat smaller than the first, and differing from it also in some of its details. This theatre falls nearly in a line with the second or northernmost street of intersection, and faces exactly to the N. E. by N.*

It has two divisions of benches, the upper one containing nine rows, and the lower one seven, now distinct; with two others, probably, buried in the rubbish, which here also covers the arena. In the upper division, are seven flights of steps, or *cunei*, and in the lower one were, probably, three, as in the first theatre; but this division is here too much dilapidated to trace them accurately.

The corridor between these, or the *diazoma*, is here as much less than the proportion assigned to that of the Athenian theatre, as in the first theatre to the south it was greater than that standard. The *diazoma* of this northern one is scarcely wider than the seats themselves, but it is more richly ornamented. The doors leading into the body of the theatre from without, are the same in number and arrangement as those described before; but the space left by the intervals all around, is filled by a line of beautiful concave or hemispherical fan-topped niches, which produce the finest effect.

The scene of this theatre is entirely open, and the diameter of the whole arena, from the lowest range of seats now visible, to the *proscenion*, or stage, is greater than that of the southern theatre, though the upper range of benches here is not quite one hundred paces in circuit. It would, therefore, be more difficult to make the voice audible in this theatre, or, as the modern expres-

* See its position at No. 11. of the General Plan.

sion is, "to fill it," than at the southern one, where the closed scene would assist the reverberation of sound, and where this distance between the audience and the actors was really less. It occurred to me as highly probable, that these concave niches, thus ranged so closely along the corridor, were not intended merely for ornament, but were designed also to assist the reverberation of sound, which must have needed some aid.

In the theatre of Bacchus, at Athens, we are told that Philo not only displayed his taste in the just symmetry of the architecture, but that he showed equal judgment in assisting the communication of sounds. The voice; it is said, being extenuated in an open and spacious place, where the distant walls, though of marble, could give little or no repercussion to make it audible, he contrived cells in the thickness of the corridors, in which he placed brass vessels, supported by wedges of iron, that they might not touch the wall. The voice proceeding from the stage to the corridors, and striking upon the concavity of those vessels, was reverberated with more clearness and force: their number were in all twenty-eight, and they were called *echæa*, because they gave an echo to the sound. *

Nothing could be more fitted for the reception of such *echæa* than these beautiful little niches, distributed at stated intervals; along the diazoma here; and their form, from being so highly ornamental, may be even considered as an improvement on the original cells of Philo. No marks of the fixture of such vessels as were used by that architect were to be seen here; but it is expressly said that those at Athens were supported by iron wedges, that they might not touch the wall, which might have been the case here also, so that no mark would be left by them; and as for the vessels themselves, as well as the wedges by which

they were supported, both brass and iron, of which they were formed, were metals of too much value to remain long in buildings abandoned to ruin.

The great characteristic difference between this theatre and the southern one is its open scene, which is formed by a portico or double range of Corinthian columns, each supporting their own entablature only. This open front has an air of greater grandeur than the closed one; though one would conceive that it was not so well fitted for the representation of plays, at least, in our manner of managing the changes of scenery. It might, on the other hand, be better adapted for the representation of particular pieces, such as those exhibiting pompous processions, triumphs, &c. to which it might have been more expressly devoted, as we have our opera-houses for music and spectacle, and our theatres for the drama.

It is said of the theatre of Bacchus, at Athens, that outwardly there was a *portico*, consisting of a double gallery, divided by rows of pillars, called the portico of Euménicus. The floor of this portico was elevated some distance from the ground; so that from the street they ascended to it by steps. It was of an oblong square figure, embellished with green palisadoes, to please the eyes of those who walked in it. Here it was that their repetitions, or rehearsals, were made and proposed for the theatre, as the music and symphony was in the Odeon.* This I understand to have been beyond the scene, though it is not clear, from the description of the theatre of Bacchus, whether this portico was not *all* that stood immediately in front of that particular edifice; for in speaking of the arrangement of its parts, it is said, the "scene, properly speaking, was the columns and ornaments in architecture, raised from the foundation, and upon the sides of the proscenion, for its beauty and decoration," without farther

* Select. from Gent. Mag. vol. ii. p. 201.

describing of what particular kind this scene in the theatre of Athens was, whether open or closed. It is probable, therefore, that this double portico here answered the same purpose of a walk, or a place for the recitation of such pieces as were to be represented afterwards within, on the regular stage.

We thought, upon the whole, that the finish of the ornaments of this theatre were superior to those of the southern one, and that it was also in a better state of preservation. The arched side-doors, for the entrance of the actors and musicians, from the private apartments of the theatre, beneath the benches within, were the same here as in the southern one; but from the arena being covered with masses of fallen stone and grass turf grown around and upon them, we could learn nothing from it regarding the arrangement of the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, called by the Romans *pulpitum*, or even of the *proscenion*, or stage, any more than we did from the other theatre; for in both of them these interesting divisions were buried under a mass of broken fragments and accumulated rubbish.

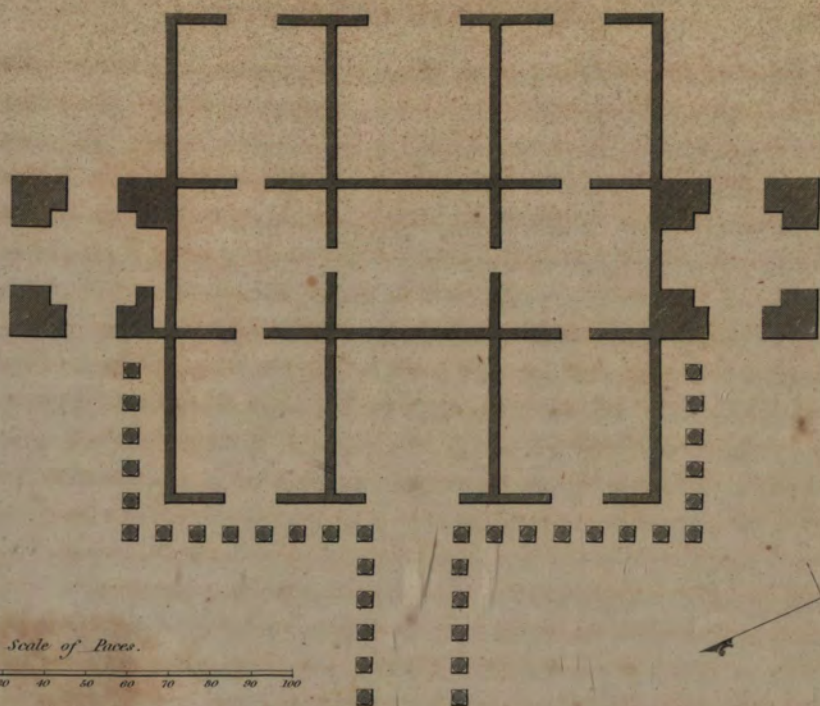
The northern theatre of Geraza falls nearly into the line of the second street of intersection, as has been already mentioned. This street, like the first, crossed the principal one at right angles, and was lined also, on each side, with a colonnade supporting an entablature. Here, however, the order is Ionic, though the size of the pillars and their intercolumniation is the same. There are few of these now standing, but the line of their direction can be distinctly traced on each side. The point of intersection here is marked, as the former one, by a sort of square; but the four pedestals being now raised to the height of walls, support a flattened dome of a circular form, and the inside of the building is made circular also, though the outside is square. A kind of open porch is thus formed, with a free passage on each of the four sides; and here, either in showery or in hot summer weather, the loungers and gossipers of the city might meet, and, sheltered equally from the rain and the sun, be as loquacious and communi-

cative as they pleased, without interrupting the public passage. It is well known how fond the Greeks were of these assemblies in porches; and the Romans, if they at all imitated these their distinguished models in this particular, in their own country of Italy, would find in Asia something, both in the climate and in the manners of the people, to encourage and familiarize them with such a practice.

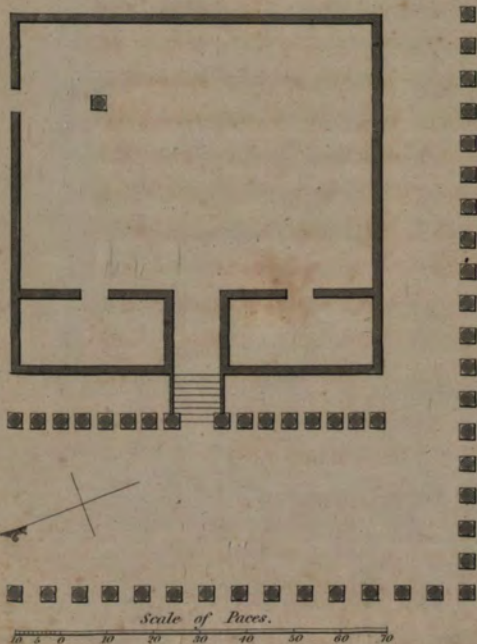
To the south-east of this square of intersection is a very extensive building, to which it is difficult to give a name, though in the Plan it is called a bath, from its resembling such an establishment more than any other.* The whole area which it occupies is upwards of four hundred paces in circumference. Its general form is that of a square, whose four sides face nearly in the direction of the city-walls, or towards the cardinal points of the heavens. Its eastern front, which stands on the brow of the western hill, and looks from thence down into the valley, is one hundred and twenty paces in length. It has three divisions, each of which are marked by a lofty and spacious arch of a vaulted roofed passage leading into it. Its eastern front is of the same dimensions with its western one, and looks towards the city. All along and before this are strewed innumerable fragments of fallen Corinthian columns, the remains of porticoes or colonnades that had once stood here. Of these, no more was now to be traced than one continued line of pedestals, near the front of the building, and a side-avenue, formed by two such lines leading down to the central arched entrance, this leading, like those towards the western, by a vaulted passage into the interior. The northern and southern front had each of them two smaller wings, of a square form, projecting from the general line, each about twenty paces in length and breadth. These were covered with flat-domed tops, of a circular form, exactly like the roof of the square of intersection at the second street already described; and these were also about

* No. 15. of the General Plan.

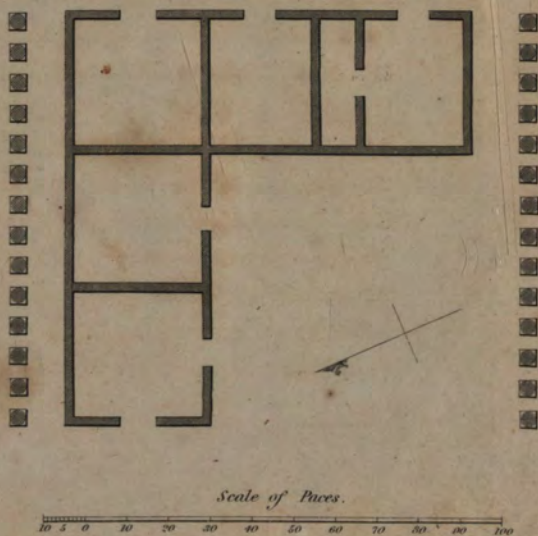
EXTENSIVE BATH AT GERAZA.



CORINTHIAN TEMPLE AT GERAZA.



UNFINISHED BATH AT GERAZA.



the same size, though they were, but the small wings of a very large pile. These wings were open on three sides by arched passages, the fourth being that side by which they were connected to the great building. These passages were seven paces long by ten broad, and the whole length and breadth of the wing was just twenty paces each way. In the northern one we remarked a horse-shoe arch, which was the first we had seen among the ruins, and it was here used to support a solid wall above a cell. The whole of the pile was well built; and its western front, when perfect, must have been magnificent. Its interior was subdivided in such a way, as that it could not well be taken for a temple; nor did we conceive it to be a place of habitation, such as a palace or great public dwelling; so that we called it in this uncertainty a bath; without, however, having unequivocal proof it being so.

The remainder of the street, which continues from the last point of intersection to the northern gate, is lined on each side with an Ionic colonnade, supporting its own entablature; and this extends in that direction for about three hundred paces, when on approaching near to the northern gate, some of the original pavement of the street in flat stones is still very distinctly seen. *

On the left, or to the west of this, and receding some distance from the street, is the wall of a large and solid edifice, which from its plainness, strength, and situation, we thought to be a military guard-house †, more particularly as just to the west of this are two towers of defence still remaining erect in the city-wall; although the wall itself is in that part much demolished, as if it had been destroyed by engines.

On the right, or to the east of the city-gate, which is a strong and simple structure, devoid of ornament, is a piece of solid wall; and close below it, is the narrow pass of the valley which divided

* No. 30. of the General Plan, towards the north.

† No. 12. of ditto.

the eastern from the western portion of the town. This must have been also a place of importance to defend, as the ground leading down toward it from without, would give an advancing enemy great command of position above them in a siege.

In this valley, at the northern end, is a large Corinthian temple, which is so completely in ruins as to have only a portion of its walls, an arched door-way, and one of its interior columns standing.* It was, however, an edifice upon which more than usual care had been bestowed, and the finish of its sculpture was quite equal to any we had seen. There were many concave fan-topped niches within, as could be seen from their fragments scattered on the ground. Though the edifice was Corinthian, it was surrounded by an Ionic colonnade, supporting the entablature, proper to its order. The dimensions of the building itself was fifty-six paces each way, its form being a perfect square; but the area of the whole pile, including its surrounding colonnade, was much greater.

There is here a beautiful carpet of green turf; and bare and rugged rocks rise abruptly into broken cliffs, on the edge of the eastern hill; while, to render the combination of objects additionally picturesque, the spring, which waters all the valley, rises close by the temple. It was from among these rocks, that Mr. Banks, stooping down behind them, contrived to take one of his drawings of the ruins of Geraza, in which most of the prominent edifices of the city are included.

Around this fountain, are several finely clustered trees and shrubs, and at the head of the spring are foundations, hewn and sculptured stones, and other vestiges of altars; perhaps erected to the deity of the stream, whose statue it was usual among the ancients to place near its source.† Nothing could be defined here, however, with the accuracy of a plan. It was, indeed, a spot of all others the most liable to be intruded on, and violated by all

* No. 13. of the General Plan.

† The position of this beautiful spot is given at No. 14. of the General Plan.

who had occasion ever to pass this way ; so that it was rather a matter of surprise to us, that even a block of stone remained, than that it was so ruined.

From this fountain-head, the water goes off in two separate streams. One of these runs westward to the deep gutter of the valley, where it falls into the channel worn by the rains, and joins the temporary brook which these rains form there in the present season, but which is dry in the summer. The other stream is carried by a sunken and stuccoed channel for about a hundred yards to the southward, when it turns off sharply to the west, and goes by a raised or arched aqueduct over the other portion of its own stream, now on a much lower level, until, gaining the brow of the western hill, it continues running along by it to fill the channels of the naumachia without the city walls.

The bridge now in ruins *, which crossed the stream of the valley, is just behind the Corinthian temple distinguished by a semicircular end, and the great palace opposite to it ; and near to this bridge is the arched aqueduct before spoken of. †

To the eastward of this aqueduct, is another large building, which, from its great extent and indefinite nature, we called, as we had done a former one, a public bath. ‡ The area which it occupies, is upwards of four hundred paces ; and its plan, though not exactly like that of the other, has yet a striking general resemblance, as well in the subdivisions of its interior as in the multitude of columns scattered about near it. There are altogether five principal divisions in this edifice, each of them of about an equal size, and the whole forming two sides of a square, as if it was intended to enclose a central court. These divisions are very lofty : the masonry of the building is solid and well-finished ; and the arches, which are used for recesses and supporters in the walls, are chiefly of the horse-shoe form. The vaulted roof of the central

* No. 16. of the General Plan.

† No. 17. of ditto.

‡ No. 18. of ditto.

division, as seen from a distance, appeared to be slightly pointed; but on a nearer inspection, this appearance seemed rather to have been occasioned by the falling in of the sides of the roof, than to have been originally given to it, as an arch of the pointed form.

Around, and in front of this large pile, towards the stream, are a multitude of pillars of different kinds; some of them have square shafts with Corinthian capitals on them, others are spirally fluted columns, without base or capital, and others, again are circular shafts fluted in perpendicular lines in the usual way, with Corinthian capitals. These were the more remarkable, as they were the only fluted columns of any kind that we had met with throughout the ruins of the city, excepting a few fallen fragments near the palace in the centre of the principal street. In our first visit, Mr. Banks saw near this bath a cylindrical stone, with an inscription on it, which he could not stop to copy. It lay amidst other fallen fragments, and he remembered to have seen in one of the lines the letters L E G. or legio; so that it might have had some relation to a military subject. After a long and careful search, however, this stone could not afterwards be found, which, indeed, was hardly to be expected, amidst such a multitude of others.

To the south-west of this extensive pile about a hundred paces, were appearances of a colonnade of the Corinthian order, which continued to border the eastern edge of the stream here, following the direction of its waters to the southward. At the termination of this, was also the ruins of a bridge of five arches, which crossed the stream from east to west; and from its western end, a flight of steps led up to the colonnades of the first or southern street of intersection, with the columns of which its sides fell in a line.*

* The written description here is not in perfect harmony with the plan. The last was laid down from a set of bearings taken with a good compass; the first was composed, also on the spot. The error is in the points of bearing only; but which of these two is more correct, my recollection does not allow me to decide; so that I have suffered both the authorities to remain unaltered.

From hence the channel leading from the first aqueduct runs along the side of the western hill, preserving its original level, and going ultimately into the channels for filling the naumachia. To the south-east of this bridge, about a hundred yards down the valley, is seen another smaller aqueduct, in ruins. It is by the first, or northernmost one, that the water is carried from the fountain-head of the spring in the valley, to the naumachia. About fifty yards from the southern aqueduct, next to the bridge, are the city-walls crossing the valley; and there is at this spot also a piece of an aqueduct still remaining, as well as a portion of another one about three hundred yards to the south-east of it, and without the town. At the first southern aqueduct from the principal bridge, the stream divides; one part of it continuing south along the valley, in a channel on the side of the western hill; and the other, without crossing the main stream by the aqueduct, bending to the south-east, and continuing to run upon the same level, in a channel on the side of the eastern hill. The bed of this last is even now full and perfect, and its waters are probably used for the irrigation of some part of the valley farther to the southward.

The eastern hill, the slope of which is of steeper ascent than the western one, is covered with the ruins of private dwellings, among which only a few small columns are seen. The city walls are more perfect here, however, than on the west; and a great portion of them at the north-east angle is indeed quite in its original state. In the north-west angle, and not far from the northern gate of the city, where the military guard-house stands, are two towers, which are also tolerably perfect; but all other parts of the walls are considerably demolished, and more so even than is likely to have been effected only by the common operations of war. As it was usual, however, among the ancients, to complete the demolition of the walls and fortifications of such towns as they conquered, particularly when they were given up to plunder, this might have been the case here. The walls were originally well-

built of hewn stone and smooth masonry; and among their fallen fragments were seen many sculptured stones. These were chiefly remarked in the western wall, where there might have been smaller gates, and where there seems to have been a line of towers like those now standing, continued all along; but the positions of them were not sufficiently distinct to admit of their being marked as certain in the plan.

So complete is the general desolation of this once proud city, that Bedouin Arabs now encamp in the valley for the sake of the spring there, as they would do near the wells of their native deserts. Such portions of the soil as are cultivated among the ruins, both in the valley within the walls, and in the naumachia without them, are ploughed by men who claim no property in the land; and the same spot is thus occupied by different persons in every succeeding year, as time and chance may happen to direct.

It is remarkable, that the Doric order is not seen in any edifice or column throughout the whole of the ruins here. The Ionic prevails near each gate of entrance, as if to prepare the way for the richer Corinthian, which occupies all the centre. Without the northern gate is a small ruined building, with columns; and without the southern one, near the lower end of the naumachia, and the triumphal arch, is a similar one. There was an extensive necropolis on the north, and another on the south of the city, without the walls; with two theatres in opposite quarters of the town, and near the gates within; so that great uniformity was observed in the arrangement of the buildings. The central semicircular sanctuary appears to have been the most highly finished; and the triumphal arch without the southern gate was in the worst taste. The one was probably the portion of some particularly sacred edifice, and the other a subsequent work, set up on a sudden for some particular occasion, and by the direction of some inferior architect, the only one perhaps on the spot.

So few and so slender are the materials to be met with either in

sacred or profane history, regarding this city of Geraza, that little more can be done than to name such as occur, for the satisfaction of those who might wish to know more of a place of such obscure fame in general records, yet possessing the remains of so much magnificence within itself. The same kind of difficulty occurred to those enterprising travellers who gave to the world their splendid drawings and plans of Palmyra and Balbeck; but those gentlemen possessed the wealth to procure, and the leisure to examine the works of all such ancient authors as might be supposed to contain any thing regarding the history of these cities, and, accordingly there was soon after appended to their labours as connoisseurs and artists, a critical enquiry worthy of them as gentlemen and scholars, and embracing all the learning that could in any way tend to illustrate the history of the cities whose superb ruins they had so carefully surveyed and described..

As the circumstances under which the remains of Geraza were visited by us were, however, far less favourable to accurate examination, so, on my own part, at least, are the means of illustrating that which is simply described too slender to afford hope for much success in the exercise of them. I shall mention, however, those few particulars which occur among my notes and extracts previously made for illustration, and hastily gleaned only from the Scriptures and Josephus, as almost the only books within my reach while in the country.

The similitude of name and correspondence of situation would lead to a conclusion that this Jerash, جرّاش, of the present Arab possessors of the country, is the same, with the Gergashi, גרגשי of the Hebrews; and it is from this, as Grotius says, that the Gorosa, Γοροσα, of Ptolemy is derived.* The Gergashites are often mentioned in the early wars of the Israelites; and the Geshurites, with their city of Geshur, and their coasts of Jeshuri, (as they

* Notes on the Treatise "Of the Truth of the Christian Religion," b. i. s. 16. p. 55. 8vo. London, 1805.

are called in another place*,) are also frequently spoken of; but whether the same people is meant by these names, it is not easy to decide. Gergasha was in the land of Gilead; which was so called, according to the Jewish historian, from a pillar being erected in the form of an altar on one of the mountains there, to commemorate and confirm a league by which Jacob promised to love Laban's daughters, as well as to forgive Laban himself for his ill treatment of him and his suspicions of his daughter Rachel.† This same land of Gilead was part of the kingdom of Bashan; as Og, the king of Bashan, (always so called in Scripture,) was also the king of Gilead and of Gaulonitis. ‡

It was this kingdom that Moses over-ran after passing the Jabbok, when he overthrew their cities and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of their soil, and the great quantity of their wealth §. "So the Lord our God," says the sacred writer, "delivered into our hands Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his people: and we smote him until none was left to him remaining. And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a city which we took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argol, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside upwalled towns, a great many. And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, utterly destroying the men, women, and children of every city. But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey to ourselves." ||

* Deut. iii. 12.

† She had carried off the household gods of her family in her elopement, and cunningly outwitted her father in his search after them, by putting them under the camel's saddle on which she rode, and saying that her natural purgations hindered her from rising up; by which Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter, under such circumstances, would approach to these images. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xix. c. 1. s. 1.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 5. s. 3.

§ Ibid, l. iv. c. 5.

|| Deut. iii. 3-7.

• This eastern portion of the Jewish conquests, and certainly by far the richest and most beautiful of all the country that they at any time possessed, was made the lot of the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, who were left at their own request to secure and enjoy their spoils, and built cities, and settled their wives and children in them before they crossed the Jordan with the rest to enter Canaan.* In the days of Solomon, the son of David, who reigned at Jerusalem, one of the captains of his armies, named Gabaris, ruled over Gilead and Gaulonitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities of Og†, but whether this of Gergashi was then one of those, there is no positive testimony, that I am aware of, either sacred and profane.

After the Roman conquests in the East, this country became one of their favourite colonies, and ten principal cities were built on the east of the Jordan, giving the name of Decapolis to the whole of that portion of the land over which they were spread. ‡ As such it is mentioned in the New Testament §, and Geraza, whose ruins we have been describing, was then one of the ten cities giving their joint name to the province; but it is certain that it was not considered the principal of these, either in wealth, importance, or extent.

• In an abridged history of the Jews, by a modern hand, this place is thought to be the same with the Essa of Josephus, and the learned Reland's authority is quoted in support of it. The passage in Josephus is thus: "But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it, and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia, and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley, which is called the Valley of Antiochus, as also the Fortress of Gamala." ||

* Deut. iii. 18.

† Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 18.

• || Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 3.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 2. s. 3.

§ St. Mark, v. 20.

The paraphrase says, "After having recovered many towns, and obtained some advantages of inferior consequence, he marched with his army to the siege of Essa or Geraza*, in which Theodotus had secured, as he thought, the whole of his treasures. Alexander, however, took the town by storm, and carried away all the riches which he found there, without molestation."†

It is quite evident, indeed, that Josephus speaks of Geraza under this name of Essa, from the parallel passage in his History of the Jewish Wars, which was written previously to the books of his Antiquities of the Jewish nation; but from whence this name of Essa is derived, I am not aware. The passage alluded to is thus: "But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Geraza again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodotus's possessions, and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison he took the place by force."‡

Before it could have had time to recover itself from this severe blow, it was included among the number of those cities which were destroyed and burnt by the enraged Jews, in their vengeance on the Syrians, and on the Roman power generally, for the massacre of a number of their nation at Cæsarea. * Now the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour when the soldiers were slain, which, one would think, must have come to pass by the direction of Providence, insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Geraza, and Pella, and Scythopolis; and after them Gadara

* Vide Joseph. Ant. xiii. 3.; and Reland, p. 767.

† Hewlett's Hist. of the Jews, 12mo. p. 170.

‡ Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 4. s. 8.

and Hippos, and falling upon Gaulonitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire."*

One may conceive how great the hatred and animosity existing between the contending parties must have been, to lead to such tragical scenes as those which are detailed, in all their horror, by the pen of the same historian, in the pages immediately following this from which the citation is made; as well as how soon the destruction of the proudest monuments might be effected by a rage too ungovernable to be awed either by a love of the arts, or even by a reverence for the temples of the gods themselves; more particularly when the actors were mostly Jews, who would rather assist than hinder the destruction of heathen altars. Yet it is recorded, to the honour of the people of Geraza, that their conduct formed a bright exception to the general behaviour of those who subsequently revenged themselves upon the people of the Jewish nation.

After describing an extraordinary instance of a man devoting himself and all his family to destruction by his own hands, the historian says, "Besides this number at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them: those of Askalon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand; and put not a few in bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover those of Hippos and those of Gadara did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody, as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them, or were afraid of them: only the Antiochians, the Sidonians and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds; and perhaps they spared them because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts; but I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 18. s. 1.

commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerazens, they did no harm to those that abode with them, and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.*

When the war had gained a still greater height, and the Roman general, afterwards Emperor Vespasian, with his son, Titus, was preparing for the siege of Jerusalem, the city of Geraza seems to have received the finishing stroke of its complete demolition. "And now Vespasia had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons to them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He sent also Lucius Annius to Geraza, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects, after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed; and what was remaining was all burnt down.†

It must, even after this, however, have been restored, if the inscription on the altar be applied to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Gibbon enumerates this city among the line of fortresses from Bosra to Petra, which formed the frontier of the Syrián provinces in the Lower Empire, and the barrier which was opposed to the Saracen invaders of that country from the East. It was, probably, the holy zeal of these turbaned conquerors, if any thing yet remained to offend it in the works of pagan hands, that overturned the altars, destroyed the temples, and violated the tombs and sepulchres of this city of idolaters; for here they would have found, at every step, a plea for the use of their destroying engines, in

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 18. s. 5.

† Ibid. l. iv. c. 9. s. 1.

bringing to the ground the impious representations forbidden by the Koran of their prophet. We met with nothing, however, that seemed to be indicative either of Christians having defended, or of Moslems having destroyed the place, at the period spoken of. All was Roman, as it has been described; and the impression made on our minds while traversing its ruins was, that this people had been both the first founders, and the last inhabitants, of the city as it is now seen.

It was past noon when we quitted the ruins of Geraza, going out at the northern gate, and ascending the hill beyond it. The rain had continued so incessantly, and had now set in with such violence, that it became difficult to walk, from the weight of our loose garments. In ascending the steep northern heights, we passed again through the necropolis, meeting with some few grottoes, and innumerable sarcophagi of stone, chiefly sculptured with shields and wreaths. Our way became so fatiguing, that we often halted to draw breath, and threw ourselves, with pleasure, on the wet ground, to catch a moment's repose. Our thirst too was so extreme, from long continued exertion, that we often stooped to lap up a little dirty water with our tongues, from the bottom of a broken sarcophagus, or from the little hollows which time had worn in the natural rock.

At length, after the most fatiguing journey on foot that I remember ever to have performed, we reached the village of Soof, and entering into the public room where we had taken up our quarters, it was a luxury of the highest kind to strip myself completely naked, and to stretch my limbs on one straw mat, while they were covered only by another. My companion was better provided in this respect, as his Albanian interpreter furnished him with sufficient dry covering for the moment; but we were so far made equal by fatigue, that we both sunk alike into a sweet and sound sleep, though breathing an atmosphere overcharged with the smoke of green wood, and the steam from our wet clothes, and stunned by the vociferations of the disputing villagers; who

had all collected round the fire to shelter themselves from the rain.

When we awoke, the first piece of intelligence brought to us was, that Mr. Bankes' horse, which he had bought only a few days since at Jerusalem, had died suddenly in the stable. One of the most bigotted Moslems of the party, who had already suspected us to be Christians, or Jews, or magicians, insisted on this event being a signal proof of God's displeasure against us; and to this a very general assent was given. The suspicions on which this construction of our misfortune was grounded, had, indeed, gained strength among all. While the Albanian was employed in drying Mr. Bankes' clothes at the fire, around which the general circle was assembled, these peasants regarded the shirt and drawers, which were of fine calico, as proofs of some difference between our real character, and that which we endeavoured to impose on them by our outward appearance. The consequences of so trifling a deviation from prescribed usage were, however, in this instance, nearly fatal to us. The cry of complaint, and even of opprobrium, became so general against us, as unknown wanderers, that we knew not where it would end; while Mr. Bankes not knowing the language of the country, and not having yet acquired a facility of conforming himself to Mohammedan attitudes, and the forms of salutation, and manner of address, among them, rendered it impossible for him to pass as an Arab, and not long even as a Turk; so that we were driven to subterfuge and evasion, for only an uncertain safety at best.

In the course of the conversation which passed among the people themselves, on the ruins of Jerash, we learned that about five or six years since, a person was known to have visited them, and was said to have spent several days there in writing and examining every part of them. They described him as a Muggrebin, and said that he spoke only western Arabic; but added, that he wore a beard, prayed, and was observant of the dictates of Islam. From the date, and other circumstances, it is likely enough that this was Dr. Seetzen, the first discoverer of the ruins of the city,

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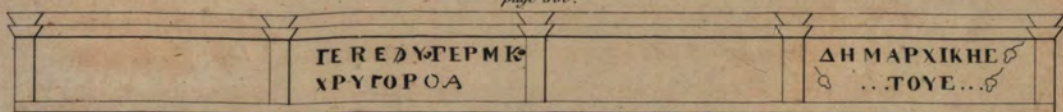


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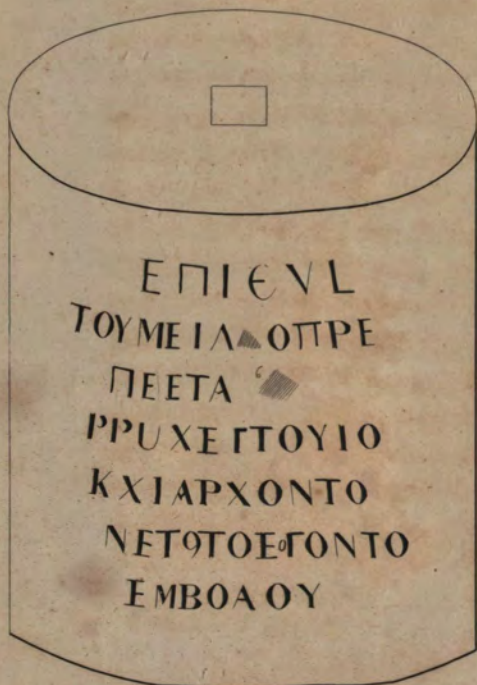
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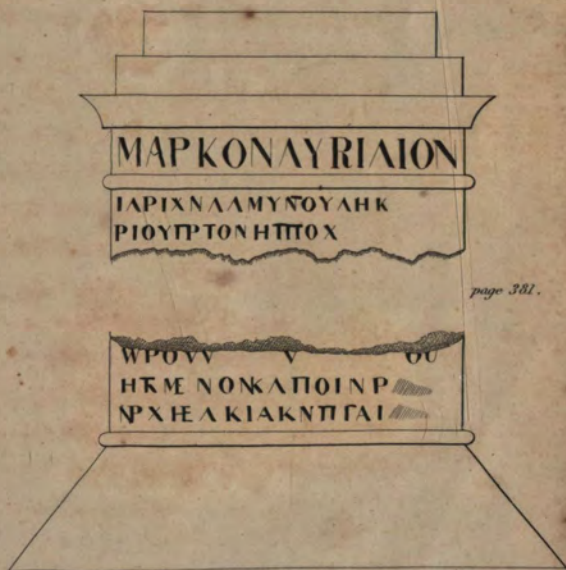
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who has since died in Arabia. Mr. Burckhardt, the only European known to have visited this spot since Dr. Seetzen, journeyed so completely as an Arab of the country, that it is not at all to be wondered at, that he should have passed here without exciting notice. His visit, however, enabled him to copy an inscription there, which we did not see, as well as two others at this village itself, of which we dared not to make any enquiry, for fear of increasing the suspicions already existing against us. These inscriptions were given by Mr. Burckhardt to Mr. Banks, as well as to myself, and as they may be interesting they are inserted with the others.

The whole of the company were unanimously of opinion, that immense treasures were buried beneath the ruins of Jerash ; and they were as firmly persuaded that the excavation of them was the sole object of our visit, of whatsoever religion we might be. They assured us, however, that a guardian genius, or demon, under the form of an immense bird, held the whole in too great security for it to be taken away by mortals, unless some magic arts were used to charm him into consent. This bird, they said, appeared among the ruins on every eighth day ; and there were even some of the party who positively insisted on having seen him there with their own eyes ; gravely adding, that its form was different from that of all other known animals, and its size enormous beyond description.

Such were the tales of the evening, to which we listened in silence. They were not totally devoid of instruction, inasmuch as they offered a striking proof of how strongly the love of the marvellous prevails among the uninformed part of mankind.

It was past midnight before the assembly broke up, when our Arab guides were as happy to be relieved from their presence as we ourselves were ; for these villagers of Soof seemed to hate the Bedouins only one degree less than they did the infidels and necromancers whom they had made their companions.



CHAPTER XXII.

FROM SOOF TO OOM KAIS.

FEBRUARY 2d. The rain fell violently at day-break; but as the sun rose its force abated; and from the alarming suspicions and suggestions of the people here regarding us, we determined on quitting Soof at all events.

We accordingly mounted; and Mr. Bankes being now without a horse, from the death of his own on the preceding evening, the Arabs dismounted by turns to accommodate him with the constant use of one of theirs. We continued our road from Soof in a N. W. direction, descending into a fine valley, and again rising on a

gentle ascent, the whole being profusely and beautifully wooded with evergreen oaks below, and pines upon the ridge of the hills above, as well as a variety of the lesser trees.

This forest, for it fully deserved the name, continued for about four or five miles, when we opened on a more park-like scenery, the ground showing here and there a rich green turf, and the woods becoming less crowded than before. The soil of the road on which we travelled was clayey, with a fine yellow gravel on the surface; and the track was broad and beaten.

As we descended to a lower level, the pines disappeared, and on the side of one of the hills, close to the road on our right, we observed a grotto, carefully hewn down in front, with an arched door of entrance, and a small court and cistern before it. On alighting to examine it, we found it to be an excavated tomb, now containing three stone sarcophagi, of the usual form and size. Were it not for the actual presence of these, we should have thought it to have been a cell of residence for some solitary living being, rather than a place of sepulture for the dead, as we knew of no ancient site in the immediate vicinity of the place, nor could we find any traces of other tombs near. Although this solitude had been chosen, and wild bushes had so overgrown its front as almost to conceal it from the view, this sepulchre had been violated as well as all the rest, and its cistern was choked, its court partly filled up, and its sarcophagi uncovered and empty.

We continued our route from hence, still in a N. W. direction, while the mountains of Nablous were pointed out to us in the distance on our left. We reached at length a beautiful dell, wooded round on all sides, where we found a small encampment of Bedouins striking their tents, and removing from the more open part of the vale to seek shelter beneath the trees, as the rain still continued.

Alighting here to take a pipe and coffee, we met with two pilgrims who had recently returned from Mecca, and the salutations

of peace passed between us as children of the same faith. Mohammed, the Albanian soldier who accompanied Mr. Bankes, had been himself at Mecca during Mohammed Ali Pasha's campaign in the Hedjaz, besides which, he possessed a sort of certificate of his having visited the great mosque of Solomon, which stands on the site of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem; and, at the same time that he talked loudly of Arasat, and the Caaba, he showed this, as a paper from the sheriff of Mecca. The ignorance of the pilgrims, who were returning to Sham, prevented them from detecting the imposition, and they were satisfied with seeing on it the double-bladed sword of the prophet, by which the infidels were to be cut off from the earth. I had myself learnt so much also of Mecca, and its pilgrimage, as to be prepared to answer almost any questions that could have been proposed to me by them, and therefore all went well with us. The Bedouins, however, as usual, never troubled themselves either about the prophet or his injunctions, and seemed almost as indifferent to the conversation as if it were in a foreign tongue.

In the mean time a large fire was kindled, warm cakes were baked for us, coffee burnt, pounded, and prepared, our pipes lighted, and, in short, every office performed for our comfort and refreshment, by these hospitable wanderers, without a thought of compensation.

After a stay of about half-an-hour, we departed from hence, continuing still through the most beautifully-wooded scenery on all sides. Mr. Bankes, who had seen the whole of England, the greater part of Italy, and France, and almost every province of Spain and Portugal, frequently remarked, that in all his travels, he had met with nothing equal to it, excepting only in some parts of the latter country, Entre Minho, and Duoro, to which he could alone compare it. It is certain, that we were perpetually exclaiming, at every turn, How rich! How picturesque! How magnificent! How beautiful! and that we both conceived the scenery alone to

be quite worth all the hazard and privation of a journey to the eastward of Jordan.

The woods growing gradually more open as we proceeded, we came at length in sight of distant hills, of a dull grey hue, stoney and bare. The land between these contrasted extremes, presented still a fine green turf, and marks of having been once cultivated, as the stones were laid out in ridges, to mark the boundaries of enclosures; and in other places were gathered up in heaps, as if to clear the soil.

On our left, we passed a village standing on the verge of a hill, and distant from our road about a mile, which the Arabs called Samoon; and soon afterwards, as we gained a sufficient height to look over the last ridge of barren hills described, the extensive plain of the Hauran was opened to us on our right, spreading as far as the eye could reach, and having the horizon for its boundary in all directions.

At the foot of the hills, where the western edge of the plain commenced, stood the village of Hussun, in which there seemed to be a tower or castle, and walls around it; and still further on, at the distance of about a mile, were scattered heaps of stone, that looked from hence like ruins, but of what age they might have been we could not learn.

The plain itself appeared to be highly cultivated; its ploughed lands showing themselves in brown patches only, as the long drought had kept back all appearance of the young corn. The road of the pilgrims, from Damascus to Mecca, was pointed out to us as running nearly north and south through this plain, and passing through Sal and Arimza, the former a village, and the latter a considerable town, both visible from hence, with beaten paths leading to each of them easterly across the plain.

Proceeding onward, we observed a number of wrought stones near the road, and several rude grottoes, which seemed to indicate the site of some former settlement; and soon after noon, when

the rain began to abate, and the sky grew clear, we reached the village of Aidoone, where we alighted to refresh.

This village, which consists of about thirty or forty dwellings, is singularly seated on the brow of a rude cliff or quarry, in such a way that many of its buildings are half constructed of masonry, and half gained by excavation out of the rock; the whole presenting an appearance of poverty and want of comfort, beyond anything we had lately seen. We entered into the public room here, in which we found above twenty persons already seated around a fire on the floor. Place was made for us instantly; and, by order of the Sheikh, who was under the Pasha of Damascus, warm cakes, olive-oil, and honey were served to us, with pipes and coffee, and the comfort of a fire to warm and dry ourselves. These people were far less inquisitive, and more civil than those of Soof, and seemed even to have a milder cast of countenance.

Leaving the village of Aidoone, we passed again by some good cisterns, excavated out of the rocks, and saw, near them, several fragments of ancient masonry; when, continuing S.W. over a barren tract, we passed in about an hour under the village of Erbeed. This, though now small, is seated on an eminence which commands the country for some distance round, and enjoys an admirable position for a city. We saw here an octagonal tower, of good workmanship, probably of the Saracen age; and near this a large reservoir for water, well-lined with masonry of hewn stones, and descended into by steps, resembling the famous cisterns which are called the pools of Solomon, near Jerusalem, though not quite so large.

About an hour and half before sunset, still continuing through a stoney and barren tract of land, with patches of cultivation here and there only, we reached the village of Bahraha, where our halt was fixed for the night. This place stands at the bottom of a gentle declivity, and has some few portions of good red soil around it, but its neighbourhood is entirely destitute of wood. On entering it, we observed the ruined arches of an old mosque, of very

excellent masonry, and within the walls, the capitals of two Doric columns, in white marble, and some scattered shafts of the same material. In the court of the Khan, where we alighted, was a fine sarcophagus, of a black porous stone, of a basaltic or volcanic nature. It bore on its sides sculptured devices, and had evidently been executed with great care; but from whence it had been brought we could not learn. We found another sarcophagus of the same material, and several large hewn stones were seen in different parts of the town, which, with the marble columns in the ruined mosque, induced us to conclude that this also had been the site of some ancient settlement.

The present village of Bahrahah does not contain more than fifty dwellings, and is governed by a Sheikh, who acknowledges the authority of the Pasha of Damascus. He questioned us very strictly about our papers and the object of our journey, and we only escaped by having Mr. Bankes's soldier with us, who replied, that he was in the service of the Pasha himself, and had been sent from Jerusalem to protect and accompany us to Sham.

We were accommodated with good shelter in a covered room; but for our horses and ourselves we were obliged to purchase provisions, this constituting the chief difference between an Arab village and an Arab camp. The population here are all Mohammedans, and from some cause which no one could explain, there was a remarkable deficiency in the proportion of female inhabitants.

3d. We quitted the village of Bahrahah at an early hour, and having a fine day, proceeded on our journey with quickened pace. The first inhabited spot we saw was the hamlet of Beit-el-Ras, on the hills to the right of our track, where there are said to be considerable ruins and caverns.

A few miles to the north of Beit-el-Ras is a place called Abil, which is described to be situated on the angle of a mountain, and is said also to contain caverns. It is now totally abandoned, but is reported to possess some fine ruins of large edifices, walls, arches, columns, &c., some of which last are without the walls of

the town, and from their size must have belonged to some temple or palace. This is near to Beit-el-Ras, and is only one day's journey, or from twenty to thirty miles from El Hussun, the first town at the foot of these hills to the N.E., on entering from hence the great plain of the Hauran, and may probably be the Abila of Josephus.*

A few miles further on, we came to the village of Tugbool, which, like the last, was very small; as well as another cluster of houses on the left, called Cufr Sou.

Continuing on our way, we reached, in about three hours after our first setting out, a stoney tract of hill, in which were some few grottoes, and a number of sepulchres hewn down into the rock, exactly as our common graves are now dug in the earth. Some of them were several feet in depth, others only a few inches below the surface, and all were now full of water. They were exceedingly numerous, and seemed, from their want of uniformity in size and relative positions, as well as from the peculiarity of their construction, to have been the works of a very distant age, and the sepulchres of a rude people.

Passing onward over this bare and hilly tract, we had on the right, at some little distance, the villages of Simma and Jejean; and on the left, far off among the hills, was pointed out to us the town of Tibbany, of a larger size. We then passed the small village of Sar on the right; and before noon reached Foharrah, where we alighted to refresh.

Our place of entertainment here was one of those square towers with loop-holes and other marks of Saracenic work, such as we had seen in almost all the villages we had yet passed, from Soof to this place, and were unquestionably intended for security and defence. Our reception was as kind as at the place of our halting on the preceding day; and after a meal of warm cakes and oil, we prepared to depart. The village of Foharrah, which occupies two

* Ant. of the Jews, b. 19. c. v. s. 1.

divisions, contains from three to four hundred inhabitants, all Mohammedan, and is under the direction of a Sheikh subject to Damascus; its situation is low, and the country around it is bare and uninteresting.

From hence we continued to ascend on our way, still directing our course to the N.W., inclining somewhat more westerly than before. The country into which we had now entered, resembled that in the midst of which Jerusalem stands; bleak stoney hills, with scanty soil and few spots even capable of cultivation. The view around us, too, was as monotonous as that from the Holy City, and formed a striking contrast of positive ugliness to the rich and verdant beauties of the enchanting scenery through which we had recently passed in the land of Bashan and Gilead, and in the approach to and departure from the ruins of Geraza.

On the left we passed the village of Seyfeen, and reaching now the summit of the hills we had been ascending, we came among some few clusters of wood, and at about three hours after noon, approached the modern settlement of Oom Kais, on the site of the ancient Gamala, whose ruins we alighted to examine.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT GAMALA.

As we approached these ruins from the east, our attention was first attracted by the sight of several grottoes facing towards that quarter, and forming apparently the necropolis of the city on the eastern brow of the hill. The first two that we examined, were plain chambers, hewn down so as to present a perpendicular front, and having the posts and architraves of door-ways, but destitute of sculpture or other ornament, either interior or exterior. The third, however, delighted and surprised us as much as if it had been a discovery of the highest importance. We had heard much of the stone-doors and ceilings of the ruined towns in the Hauran, which were thought to be the works of the old Chaldean age, and we had seen with regret the destruction of those which closed the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, and which, from their being supposed to be unique, had given these monuments a claim to a higher antiquity than they perhaps possess; so that our gratification was higher than can be described in finding here a tomb with its stone-door as perfect as on the day of its being first hung.

On entering it, we found an excavated chamber of about seven feet in height, twelve paces long, and ten broad: and within it a smaller room not more than ten feet deep and twelve wide; the whole irregularly hewn, without regard to uniformity of dimensions or design, and having its walls and roofs quite rough. The outer front, however, was extremely perfect, and was descended to by a gradual slope, the space being cut away out of the hill.

The rock out of which the chambers were excavated was a coarse grey lime-stone ; but the portals and architrave of the door-way, as well as the door itself, were all of the black basaltic stone, of which we had seen sarcophagi at Bahrahah. The portals were solid, and, though plain, were well-hewn and squared. The architrave, which was broad and deep, was ornamented in front with three busts of coarse execution ; the head bare, the face full, and the ears prominent, like the heads sometimes but rarely seen among Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The door, which was seven spans high, was pannelled by a double moulding, in four oblong squares, and divided by a perpendicular line, left in relief upon its centre, and resembling exactly a bar of iron, with five studs, like the heads of iron bolts. The greatest peculiarity was, perhaps, the small stone knocker, in the centre of one of the pannels, cut like the seeming iron bars and bolts, all of it of one solid stone; and of a piece with the door itself, so as to give it the appearance of a well-secured dwelling on approaching it.

The door was fixed like those in the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, by a long circular spindle, running up into a cell in the thick and solid architrave above, and a short lower pivot bedded in a shallower socket in the threshold below ; these pivots being both of a piece with the door itself. By clearing away the rubbish, we found the door to traverse easily on its hinges, and we could see that the manner of hanging it must have been to insert first the upper spindle into the circular hole in the architrave, and then to bring the lower pivot immediately over its socket, suffering it to fall into it ; as the space between the upper part of the door and the foot of the architrave, was just equal to the length of the pivot below. A small overlapping piece was left to descend like a moulding, at the foot of the architrave, in front, so that, though the vacant space was visible when the door was open, this stone ledge completely covered it when the door was closed.

Leaving this tomb, we ascended the hill, and found others still

more interesting ; as, besides the door of the same construction still standing, we entered one in which were ten sepulchres, ranged along the inner wall of the chamber in a line, being pierced inward for their greatest length, and divided from each other by a thin partition left in the rock, in each of which was cut a small niche in front, for a lamp, as in the royal tombs at Jerusalem. Several of these niches were seen also on the side-walls of this excavation ; and though every sepulchre had been violated, some of the sarcophagi, broken and reversed, still remained in the room.

At the side of this chamber was an opening, communicating with a larger and more rude excavation, in which was a dark arched passage of some length ; as a stone which was thrown in returned no sound, though propelled with all our force. . . .

The outer door was exactly similar to the one last described, both in size and design ; having the pannels, the studded bar, and the knocker, as well as a small cavity near the centre of its side-edge, with a corresponding opening in the opposite portal, for some kind of fastening or bolt to be let in. The ornament of the architrave, instead of the busts before described, was a garland in the centre, with a full-blown flower on each side.

Among a number of other tombs which we entered, all very similar in design, some without sarcophagi, and others containing several, both perfect and broken, we found one door entirely plain ; another having only the studded bar down the middle, without pannels or knocker ; and another more strongly ornamented with imitations of iron-bolts, as if to represent an additional effort for security. The ornaments of the architraves were chiefly garlands and flowers, and these, with their portals and thresholds, were all of the black stone. The door last described was still hanging, and some sarcophagi were lying within the chamber which it guarded.*

* Capt. Beaufort met with tombs similar to these in Asia Minor. He says, " At Makry, Myra, and other places, is the excavated catacomb, with the entrance carefully

Beyond these we found innumerable sarcophagi of the same basaltic material; some highly ornamented with garlands and wreaths, others with heads of Apollo, and little Cupids, or genii with wings, joining hands together beneath those heads; and some with shields, as we had seen them at Geraza. The covers, which were numerous, were all pent-roofed, and had, at their corners, the quarter section of the globe in the Roman style, as well as marks of their fastenings to the lower part of the sarcophagi, still remaining. At the ends were generally wreaths of flowers or rings, and on the sides the devices described; but none presented specimens of very fine sculpture, for which, indeed, the stone itself was unfit. There were scarcely less than two hundred of these sarcophagi perfect, besides the broken ones; and all were torn out of the tombs, and laid in heaps above-ground.

At length we reached the summit of the hill on which the ruins of the Roman city stands; and though the country around is stoney and bare, and the hills destitute of wood or verdure, it was impossible not to admire the commanding view from hence, and the extent and grandeur of the scene, devoid as it was of more finished or softer beauties. Beneath us, on the N. E., flowed the Nahr-el-Hami, or the ancient Hieromax, coming from the eastward, through high cliffs on its northern bank, and a bed of verdant shrubs on its southern, and bending its way by the hot springs and ruins of the Roman bath on its edge, to increase the waters of the Jordan. On the N. W., in a deep hollow, surrounded by lofty hills, was the still sea of Galilee*, or lake of Gennessaret†, on the southern bank of which stood the small village of Sumuk, and on the western the town of Tiberias, still preserving nearly its

closed by a slab, which is not inserted, but worked in the external face of the rock, and curiously pannelled, in such exact imitation of a wooden door, that even the representation of the nail-heads and hinges is not omitted." — Beaufort's *Caramania*, p. 191. 8vo.

* Mark, vii. 31.

† Luke, v. 1.

ancient name. From this lake, now unruffled by the slightest breeze, the Shereeah of the Arabs, or the Jordan of earlier days, was seen to issue, and wind its southern course through a desert plain, between the mountains of Judea and those of Arabia, till it emptied itself from this second reservoir into the larger one of the Dead Sea. The whole view, indeed, was as grand from its scenery as it was interesting from the recollections which it could not fail to inspire.

After devoting about an hour to the examination of the ruins of Gamala, and traversing them on foot in every direction, we were enabled to perceive that the city formed nearly a square; its greatest length being from east to west, which we found to measure one thousand six hundred and seventy paces, of about two feet each, or just half a mile; and its breadth, perhaps, one fourth less. The upper part of the city stood on a level spot, on the summit of the hill, and appears to have been walled all around, the acclivities of that hill being on all sides exceedingly steep, and having appearances of ruined buildings, even on their steepest parts. The eastern gate of entrance has its portals still remaining, and was near the northern wall. From hence a noble street ran through the whole length of the city, extending the number of paces mentioned, as it was along this that the measurement was taken. This street was fifteen paces, or about thirty feet in breadth, from pillar to pillar: as it had a colonnade of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, at intervals lining it in avenues on each side, as at the ruins of Geraza. The street was paved throughout with fine squared blocks of the black volcanic stone, and this pavement was still so perfect, that the ruts of carriage-wheels were to be seen in it, of different breadths, and about an inch in depth, as at the ruins of Pompèii in Italy.

The first edifice which presented itself, on entering at the eastern gate, was a theatre on the left, the scene and front of which was entirely destroyed, but its benches were still remaining, and it faced towards the north. Still further on, were appearances of an

Ionic temple, the colonnade of the street being continued; and, at about the centre of its length, a range of Corinthian columns, on pedestals, marked the site of a grand edifice on the left. Not a column now remained erect, but the plan could be distinctly traced. This apparent temple was a hundred paces in depth from north to south, or from the street inward; and its façade, which fronted the street and came in a line with the grand colonnade before described, was about seventy paces in breadth. The chief peculiarity of this edifice was, that it was built on a range of fine arches, so that its foundations were higher than the general level of the town, and the pedestals of its columns were elevated considerably above the level of the street, by which it must have been rendered most conspicuous.

At the southern end of this edifice was a second theatre, open toward the west, and fronting the central cross-street, which here intersected the city from north to south, at right-angles with the larger one running from east to west. This second theatre had only a portion of its front preserved, but its benches and doors of entrance, the pavement of its stage, and part of its scene, were as perfect as either of those at Geraza, to which it was also equal in size and similar in general design; but it was in less perfect preservation, and, on the whole, inferior in the taste and execution of its details to either of them.

Besides the edifices enumerated, there were appearances of several other buildings, but all now too indistinct to pronounce on their nature. The prevalent orders of architecture which we observed, were Ionic and Corinthian; though some few Doric capitals were seen. The stone was sometimes the grey rock of the mountain, and sometimes the black volcanic stone used in the tombs and sarcophagi, of which there were several shafts of pillars and other blocks for masonry.

As the ruins here described are not immediately on the position generally assigned to Gamala on the maps, and as the only person who has given any notice to the world of having visited them in-

clines to think that they are those of Gadara *; it may be well to insert the description of the former place by the historian, who was contemporary with its destruction by Vespasian, and who, indeed, himself fortified and fought in it.

This writer says, "Gamala is a city over against Tarichea, but on the other side of the lake (of Tiberias). This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia, and these were both parts of Gaulonitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Gaulonitis, as was Gamala of the lower." †

The boundaries of the kingdom, of the elder Agrippa, or Agrippa the Great, the grandson of Herod, were at first similar to those of his grandfather at the period of his death, but were afterwards enlarged by the bounty of Claudius. ‡ Now on the death of Herod, a Jewish embassy went from Jerusalem to Rome to petition for the liberty of living by their own laws, and to accuse Herod, in his late reign, of iniquitous and tyrannical government, under the hope of kingly power being dissolved in Judea, and of their being added to Syria, and ruled under such presidents as might be sent to them from hence. Nicolaus vindicated Herod from these accusations; and when Cæsar had heard the pleadings on both sides, he dissolved the assembly: but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of one-half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas; that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two

* Vide a letter from Dr. Seetzen to the editor of L'Ambigu, inserted in No. 253. of that work.

† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 1. s. 1.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. b. xix. c. 5. s. 1.

hundred talents, while Batanea with Trachonites, as well as Auranites, with a certain part of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Stratos tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria." *

These, then, were the boundaries of Herod's kingdom at the period of his death. The same historian informs us afterwards, that Claudius, after the early misfortunes which Agrippa had undergone, not only confirmed to him the kingdom which Caius had given to him, but made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned: that is, Judea and Samaria. "This," says, the Jewish writer, "Claudius restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lyسانias, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories." †

Notwithstanding that it is usual to place the district of Abylene far to the northward, between Syro Phenicia, and Coele-Syria, I think it by no means improbable that it was seated here near the lake of Tiberias, and much to the southward of the limits generally assigned to it. It seems agreed, on all hands, that it derived its name from its capital, Abila; and, as we have seen, there is now a large ruined city in this very neighbourhood, retaining still the name of Abeel, and having marks of former grandeur, which could only have belonged to a place of some con-

* Joseph. Antiq. b. xvii. c. 11. s. 4.

† Ibid. b. xix. c. 5. s. 1.

sequence.* In the enumeration of the provinces of which Herod's kingdom was composed, Perea and Galilee are first mentioned, as being probably the most productive, and for the sake of naming the sum which they paid to Archelaus in yearly tribute; but it is *after* Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, the most northern provinces, and before those of Idumea, and Judea, and Samaria, the most southern ones, that Abilene is mentioned, as if really lying between these extremes in the order of enumeration.

The Evangelist St. Luke, in fixing the date of John the Baptist's coming from the wilderness beyond Jordan to preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, says that this happened in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonites, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene.† The learned Grotius, in his note on this passage, which is quoted by Dr. Hudson and Whiston, as explanatory of that expression of Josephus which says that *part* of the country only, called the house of Zenodorus, paid tribute to Philip, observes, "When Josephus says that some part of the house or possession of Zenodorus, i. e. Abilene, was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another; this other was Lysanias, whom Luke mentions, of the posterity of that Lysanias who was possessed of the same country called Abilene, from the city Abila, and by others Chalcidene, from the city of Chalcis, when the government of the East was under Antonius, and this after Ptolemy, the son of Menneus; from which Lysanias, this country came to be commonly called the county of Lysanias; and as, after the death of the former Lysanias, it was called the Tetrarchy of Zenodorus, so, after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lysanias, of the same name with the

* See also Dr. Seetzen's Letter in L'Ambigu, No. 254.

† Luke, iii. 1. — Ptolemy also calls this city Abila of Lysanias, as Spanheim observes. Whiston thinks it to have been originally a part of Canaan. See his notes on the passage in Josephus, as referred to.

former, was possessed of the same country, it began to be called the Tetrarchy of Lysanias." ‡

It is clear, therefore, that the names of Zenodorus and Lysanias were names which this territory derived from those of its rulers at different periods; while that of Abilene, from its capital of Abila; was its more general and permanent one; and since this is positively said to have been bestowed on Agrippa by Claudius, as *out* of his own territories, one of the borders of his kingdom, upon which Gamala is said to have lain, must have been here near to this very spot. If objection be taken to its then forming an isolated spot, surrounded by districts under the government of Agrippa, and more particularly to its being mentioned at the same time with the country that lay at Mount Libanus, it may be replied, that there were many similar instances of isolated districts and towns, either independent, or subject to other governors, or enjoying peculiar privileges, as may be seen in the constant enumeration of such by Josephus; and even here, in the instance before us, where Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, places wide apart from each other, one to the east of Jordan, and one in the very south of Palestine, bordering on the desert of Idumea, were separated by Cæsar from the government of Archelaus, and added to the province of Syria.

Thus much may suffice for the general position of this place. Let us examine now more closely its minuter local features, as furnished us by the same animated and accurate pen. He says, "Now, Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Iotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although

* Grotius on Luke iii. 1.

the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately *: both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch here, and made that hard to be ascended also.

On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south; and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.” †

It is impossible, that any one but an actual observer of the place at the moment he wrote, or one to whom all its features were familiar from long residence on it, could give so accurate a description of this spot as is here done by the Jewish warrior and historian. The rough ridge of the high mountain on which the city is seated, the neck in the middle by which it is connected to the land behind, the easy ascent to the city from this part, and the abrupt parts on the side and face of the hill ending in vast deep valleys below, are all features too prominently marked to be mistaken, and remain as permanently conspicuous now, as they were in the days of its glory. ‡

* *جمل*, Jemel, or, as it is pronounced in Egypt, and in some parts of Syria, Gemel or Gamal-hard, is still the Arabic name for a camel, called *جَمَّاز*, Jammaz, in the dictionaries.

† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 1. s. 1.

‡ D’Anville, in speaking of Gaulon, the capital of the territory of Gaulonitis, says, “Gamala n’en étoit pas loin, presque inaccessible par son assiette sur des rochers bordées des precipices, et dont on connoît la situation, en ce qu’elle n’étoit séparée que par l’extrémité du Lac de Tiberiade, d’un lieu assez considerable que les salaisons qu’on y faisoit du poisson, pêché dans le lac appeller Tarishæa. Gebg. Anc. p. 188. folio, Paris, 1769. Its present Arabic name of *سَمَك*, Sumuk, signifies also a fish, and is doubtless a corrupted translation of its original one.

From the small size of the space which occupies the level on the summit of the hill, about half a mile in length by a quarter broad, and which is covered with colonnaded streets, temples, theatres, palaces, and great public buildings, surrounded with a wall and gates, there is great reason to believe that this was the citadel. It stands, as the Jewish writer describes it, on the south, to which it is exposed; and, as he says, this southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, might well stand in the nature of a citadel to the city. The precipice *above*, (or to the *southward*, for this expression could not have been meant to apply to altitude, as this was already the highest part of the mountain) was not walled about, but extended itself to an immense depth, as he himself describes it; and we were assured, that there was a spring of water within the wall, as he affirms; and that this was the only one now known on the whole hill, though, from our occupation in examining the buildings, we had not time to go and see it.

The city, which is said to have hung so strangely, that it looked as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp was it at the top, was no doubt spread out on the northern side of the hill, since it was the southern mount that was in the nature of a citadel to it. Along the brow of the steep descent on the north, and facing the valley of the Hieromax, and the hot springs, as well as the town and lake of Tiberias, are seen the remains of private dwellings, which must, as described, have appeared from below to have stood literally one upon another; and from the great distance at which this city could be seen, it must have seemed to hang so strangely as to threaten its own fall.

The preservation of the edifices within the citadel, and the almost complete destruction of those that were spread around its foot on the side of the hill below, may easily be understood. This upper city, like the western division at Geraza, was reserved for the temples, theatres, palaces, and other public edifices, and all the pomp of architecture appears to have been concentrated in this small space, where not a private dwelling seems to have been

suffered to intrude. There are appearances in some parts of this space, as if the rock had been artificially levelled for the purpose of erecting the buildings there on a more uniform plan; and it is from the circumstance of their level site and massy construction, that they have continued to brave the ravages of violence and time, while almost every trace of the lower city has disappeared.

Inasmuch as the situation and construction of the buildings within the citadel were favourable to their preservation, so were those of the private dwellings calculated to hasten their destruction from the moment of their being abandoned. We know, from the description of the siege, that the greater part of these dwellings, indeed, were demolished; and the details of this are so particularly explanatory of the speedy way in which buildings similarly situated would contribute to their own destruction, that it is worth while to insert the passage.

“Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessities. However, these, their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while, indeed, they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and broke in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going farther, and with great courage beat them back;

and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts; and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap on the tops of them; so, that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them, lost some of their limbs, but still a great number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God; and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses, and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually tumbling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemy's side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to dispatch such as were only half-dead; nay, there were a great number, who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor, indeed, was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so

thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd." *

It is plain, too, that the upper part, or the citadel, on the summit, had its own wall of enclosure as part, no doubt, of its original defence, besides the wall that been built around the lower city by Josephus himself, just previous only to the siege, and thrown up on a sudden. It was thus resorted to as a last refuge by the soldiers and citizens, when the young Titus, who was just returned with his father, Vespasian, from the expedition against Mount Tabor, entered the city silently by night, with two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen, to revenge the destruction of the Romans who had been slain in his absence. "Now, as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards; while the groans of those that were killed, were prodigiously great every where, and the blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high, that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 1. s. 4.

their destruction ; this carried the Roman darts upon them ; and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them : nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon ; nor could they see those that were ascending up to them ; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves ; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now ; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth ; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand : nor did any one escape, except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of King Agrippa's army, and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken ; for otherwise they spared not so much as their infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel." *

But enough has been said to show that the local features of the present spot are exactly those which are given of Gamala ; and the description of the ruins still remaining there, will best testify whether it was a place of consequence or not ; and whether it was not well fitted for the obstinate defence which it offered to the arms of the all-conquering Romans. †

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. iv., c. 1, s. 10.

† Cellarius, in enumerating the cities of Batanea, and particularly those along the lake of Gennesareth, says, " Ejus ad Lacum Genesareth oppida erant Bethsaida,

Mr. Seetzen has fixed on this as the site of Gadara, principally, as he says, on account of the hot-springs being near it. His account of this place omits all mention of the theatres, temples, avenues of columns, and curious tombs there, as well as of the striking local features of the mountain itself; so that one would almost infer that he had never visited it in person, but that he speaks positively, as to the place of Oom Kais, which, it is true, is not immediately on the ruins themselves, so that he might have been at the one without seeing the other.

We are indebted to the pages of the same historian from whom we have already borrowed so largely, for the account of the capture of Gadara, by Vespasian, during the same war as that in which Gamala fell. He says, "Vespasian marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of great strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus (Adar;) for the men of power had sent an embassy to him without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender, which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens were rich. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies, which were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city, so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus (a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy) and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him; and then ran out of the city. And

postea Julias appellata: Gamala, validè munita ac regio Γαμαλιτική circa eam; et alia Julias, sed Betharamphtha prius dicta prope superius Jordanis ostium." — Geog. Ant. c. xxi. p. 97. 8vo.

as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gādara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.” *

This city we see, therefore, was taken without a battle; and though it is said to have been strong, yet if it had possessed such remarkable features as those seen here at Gamala, so accurate a writer as Josephus is, and more particularly one so happy in the descriptions of places, could not well have passed them over. We know, however, from his account, this leading fact, that Gadara was the metropolis of Perea. This same writer, in his concise, but picturesque descriptions of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, and his comparison of the former of these with Perea, says, “Now the length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western from Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia and Silbronitis, and besides, to Philadelphene and Gerasa.” *

It is certain, therefore, that this Gadara must have been far to the southward of the lake of Tiberias, since it was the metropolis of Perea, whose most *northern* limit was Pella, which was itself considerably to the south of this, and near the brook of Jabbok, or nearly mid-way between that lake and the Dead Sea; while the city of Gamala, and the region of Gamalitica were to the north of Perea. * From the details of what followed this easy capture of

* Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 7. s. 3. * † Ibid. b. iii. c. 3. s. 2.

† “Gamala Syriae, Incola Gamaleus. Joseph. l. iy. Ant. Jud. Urbs fuit Gaulanitis e regione urbis Tarichææ sita, unde regio Gamalitica nomen habet ad septentrionem Perææ sita, et à forma cameli quam repræsentebat dicta. De Bello. l. iv. c. 1.” — Re-land, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. p. 784.

Gadara, there is every reason to believe, too, that it was seated among some of the valleys to the south of Geraza, which lead out directly to the plain of the Jordan, as will be best seen by the extract of these particulars.

On the flight of the murderers of Dolesus from Gadara, they were pursued by a troop of five hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen of the Romans, under Placidus, who followed the fugitives just upon their backs, as it is said, until they ran for refuge into a certain walled village near, called Bethannabris. Here a battle ensued between the Romans and the people of this town, and the fugitives of Gadara, whose cause they espoused, combined, and the latter were cut up with great slaughter. After this contest, when such as were yet left alive of them sought to re-enter the walls of Bethannabris, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates; when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the people on the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side: so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by a current (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable) he put his soldiers in array over against them, so the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very.

great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into the Jordan was prodigious. There were, besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled, was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river.”*

The distance, therefore, from Gadara to the Jordan, and from that part of it near the Lake Asphaltitis, must have been small, and the flight from the city to that river easy, all of which, added to the prominent fact of its being the capital of Perea, whose northern limit was Pella, would in no respect accord with the situation of the ruins here: We know, however, that Gamala was situated near the Lake of Tiberias, and on the other side of it, as opposed to Tarichæa, † which was near to Tiberias, ‡ and conse-

* Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 7. s. 5. 6.

† Pliny places this city on the southern side of the lake, in his enumeration of the features of this part of the country. “The River Jordan,” he says, “springeth from the fountain Paradeas, which giveth the surname to the city Cesarea; a pleasant river it is, and winds much, until its sweet waters are lost in the bitter ones of the Lake of Sodom or Asphaltitis. The lake of Gennesarah formed by it in the way, is sixteen miles long and six broad. On the east side of this lake, are the towns of Julias and Hippos; on the south Tarichæa; and on the west Tiberias, with its healthful baths of hot water.” Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

A more modern authority erroneously places it on the east:—“Tarichæa ad orientale maris Galilææ litus posita; olim fuit urbs munitissima, à Vespasiano tamen expugnata.” Cluverius, l. v. c. xxi. p. 369.

‡ Wars of the Jews, l. iii. c. 10.

quently opposite to us from hence, so that no mistake can occur in this particular.

Gadara is thought to have been here by Mr. Seetzen, from the vicinity of the hot baths on the banks of the Hieromax to the north of it. I do not remember that such hot-baths are spoken of by any author as near to that city, they are certainly not mentioned by Josephus, yet he does not fail to remark those of Emmaus, which were near to Gamala. "Vespasian," he says, "removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp, before the city Tiberias, (for Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered 'a warm bath,' for therein is a spring of warm water useful for healing), and came to Gamala." *

Finally, this traveller conceives the village of Phik, which is on the east side of the Lake of Tiberias, nearly about the centre of its length, and also on a high mountain, to be the Gamala of antiquity, from the correspondence of its situation with that given of Gamala by Josephus; but unfortunately, his letter on this subject contains only the suggestion, without the comparison or coincidences in detail. Mr. Paulus, however, according to this same writer, places Gamala on the *south* side of the Hieromax or Shereeat-al-Mandoor, as it is really found to be here at Oom Kais.

Pliny, indeed, makes express mention of Gadara among the cities of the Decapolis, and says, it is situated upon the river Hieromax, running even before it †, which is noticed also by D'Anville, who, at the same time that he places it near the Hiero-

* Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 1. s. 3.

† The region of Decapolis joined to Judea on the Syrian side, and derived its name from the number of cities in it: these were not enumerated alike by all, but most men spoke of the cities of Damascus and Opotos watered by the river Chrysorrhoa. Also Philadelphia, renowned for the fruitful territory about it. Moreover, Scythopolis, taking name of the Scythians there planted; and before time, Mysa, so named of Prince, or Father Bacchus, by reason that his nurse was there buried. Also Gadara, situate upon the river Hieromax, running even before it, besides the above-named Hippos Dios, (on the *eastern* side of the Lake of Tiberias.) Likewise Pella, enriched with the good fountains; and last of all, Galaza, (Geraza,) and Canatha.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 18. Booth's Translation.

max or the Yermuk, calls it also the capital of Perea from Josephus, and says, that its present name is Kedar.* This Gadara, which was the capital of Perea, and so near to Jericho and the Dead Sea, could not, however, be the same Gadara as that by which the Hieromax passed, unless that stream rises much farther south than our maps represent it. We could learn nothing certain regarding the course or direction of this stream, nor was Kedar a name known to those of whom we enquired. We found no inscription during our short stay there to assist our judgment on this point; but after the coincidences already pointed out between the situation of the ancient city and that of the present ruins, little doubt can remain of their being those of Gamala as here assumed. †

There were throughout this country, however, so many places of the same name, as may be seen in those of Rama, Cana, Bethel, and Emmaus, of the Hebrews, and afterwards in those of Herodium, Cæsarea, Julias, and others, in Roman times, that nothing is more probable than that there might be several smaller places called Gadara, independent of the city of that name, which was the metropolis of Perea, and the place whose site is thought by Dr. Seetzen to have been here at Gamala. ‡ Express mention is made, indeed, of one Gadara, which is called a village of Gilead, where Alexander Janneus fell into an ambush, in a battle with the

* Cette extrémité du lac Tiberias reçoit une rivière dont le nom est Hieromax, ou comme on dit actuellement Yermuk. Elle passe sous Gadara, ville considérable, et même qualifiée de capitale de la Perée par Joseph. Son nom sur le lieu est Kedar. *Geog. Anc.* p. 138. folio. Paris 1769.

† Gamala is reckoned among the cities of Samaria by Cluverius; but the note on it preserves its local features, though it does not give its position accurately. "Gamala in monte sita erat, cameli figuram referenti, cujus capiti arx, gibbo reliquæ urbs inhærebat. Expugnata est ab Alexandro Judæorum Rege; ac deinde quoque à Vespasiano. Ab ea urbe circumjacens, regio dicta est Gamalitica, ponitur verò urbs illa trans Jordanem ab orientali Maris Galilææ, latere paullum remota. *Introduct. Geog.* l. v. c. xxi. p. 368.

‡ Reland, in his learned and laborious *Illustrations of Palestine*, has collected several of these with very slight variations of name. See lib. iii. de *Urbibus et Vicis Palæstinæ*, p. 773. to 778.

Arabians, where, in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life.*

But, more generally, the name of Gadara is given to a district, no doubt, from the name of its capital, and a part of this district, at least, did certainly extend to the borders of the Lake of Tiberias. Though its capital might not have changed, either in name or situation, the borders of the district over which it was the head might frequently alter, and it might be common, at some periods, to include in this district of Gadara, or country of the Gadarenæ, parts that were remote enough from the *city*, which is alone contended for as being seated farther south, if, as already asserted, it was the capital of Perea, since that had Pella for its northern boundary, and was near the Jordan and the Lake Asphaltitis, and consequently remote from the Lake of Tiberias.† Josephus, in his *Life*, says, “When Justus had by his persuasions prevailed on the people of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many to do so against their will, he went out and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire, which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias and of the region of Scythopolis.”‡ This latter region extended all along the plain of Jordan to the south, and would reach, indeed, to the western limits of Perea, and of Gadara as seated there. In the Jewish wars, when Gabinius had committed the care of the temple to Hyrcanus, but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy, “he parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should

* Antiquities of the Jews, b. xiii. c. 13. s. 5.

† Gadara Perææ. Ita hanc urbem nuncupo ut distinguam ab alia quæ idem nomen gessit, et vicina fuit Nicopoli atque Diòspoli, de qua mox. Fuit autem hæc urbs sita ad flumen Hieramacen, teste Plinio, l. iv. c. 16., *μητρόπολις* Perææ, teste Josepho, l. v. de Bello, c. iii., ad ortum sita lacus Tiberiadis *remota* à Tiberiade intervallo 60 stadiorum, uti idem testatur in historia vitæ suæ, p. 1025. Reland. Palæst. Illust. l. iii. p. 773.

‡ Life of Josephus, sect. ix.

belong to Amathus, a fourth, to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee." *

All of these authorities bespeak a city of some consequence, and a district of some extent, and, as such, the country comprised under the name of Gadarene, might well have reached from the region of Scythopolis to the borders of Tiberias. The eastern shores of the lake are often so called in the writings of the New Testament: a very striking instance may be quoted, after the stilling of the tempest on the sea of Galilee, where it is said, "And they came over into the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes," which, says the succeeding Evangelist, "is over against Galilee."

The account given of the habitation of the demoniac, from whom the legion of devils was cast out here, struck us very forcibly, while we were ourselves wandering among rugged mountains, and surrounded by tombs, still used as dwellings by individuals and whole families of those residing here. † A finer subject for a masterly expression of the passions of madness in all their violence, contrasted with the serenity of virtue and benevolence in him who went about doing good, could hardly be chosen for the pencil of

* Wars of the Jews; b. i. c. 8. s. 5.

Cellarius says, "Gadara ad ostium fluvii inferius quod et Chammat Tiberiadis cis fluvium, idem aut conjunctum oppidum est." And again, "Gadara cum vicina Gergesa, et orientem versus Pella." Geog. Ant. c. xxi. p. 97. 8vo.

Cluverius enumerates it among the cities of the Decapolis, and the commentator Bunoni, in a note on this enumeration, says, "Gadara monte imposita, paullo longius à Mari Galilææ remota erat." But testifies also to its strength, by adding "inexpugnabilis prope habit." Int. Geog. l. v. c. 23. p. 374.

† "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not." St. Mark, v. 2—7.

an artist ; and a faithful delineation of the rugged and wild majesty of the mountain-scenery here on the one hand, with the still calm of the waters of the lake, on the other, would give an additional charm to the picture.

Before we quitted the summit of the mountain on which all the principal ruins were, we went over to the edge of the precipice, for so this steep descent may be called, on the north-west angle of the hill. There were here, several ancient cisterns for the preservation of rain-water, which must have been exceedingly necessary in a place where there was only one spring to supply the wants of the whole population ; and, indeed, it is said, that during the siege, one of the principal fears of the besieged was, that their water would fail them.

Of the subterraneous caverns through which the historian relates that some of the inhabitants escaped during the siege of the city, we could learn nothing, unless the remarkable passage ending in one of the tombs that we first examined, and there described as being unfathomable by a stone thrown in as far as possible without returning any sound, be considered as one of them. Passages of this nature are, however, so liable to be filled up at their mouths by rubbish, that traces of them are not to be expected at a period so remote as this from the time of the destruction of the city.

On a modern burying-ground of the villagers, near this north-west angle of the hill, where we remarked the ancient cisterns for the preservation of the rain-water, we observed a fantastic building of the Mohammedans, in the walls of which the grey and black stones gathered from the ruins had been arranged in regular layers, so as to shew, by their succession, broad stripes of black and white, quite in the taste of the modern Egyptians, among whom, saints' tombs, mosques, &c., are so decorated with red and yellow horizontal lines, or like the great enclosure of Adjerood, near Suez, as well as the lower part of several buildings in that town.

On quitting these interesting ruins of a small colonial city, situated in a barren district, as unfavourable for agriculture and

manufactures as for commerce, we could not but be forcibly struck with the luxury that must have prevailed here, and the wealth that must have existed, not merely to build such splendid temples and colonnades, but to support two large theatres for the entertainment of the living; and to construct such massy tombs and expensive sarcophagi, apparently for all classes of its dead, since the number of the latter, if considered to belong to the rich only, was disproportionately great, when compared with the size and probable population of the place.

On returning to the small village of Oom Kais, which lies scattered chiefly between the necropolis and the eastern wall of the ruined city, we found a meal of cakes and oil prepared for us, by a white-bearded sheikh, and a crowd gathered around us, as usual, to enquire after the treasure we had been taking up out of the earth. We were treated here, however, with great kindness and civility, and furnished with food without demand of payment, the people being a mixture of shepherds and cultivators; some inhabiting the ancient Roman tombs, some living in rude dwellings formed by a circle of broken sarcophagi and other large stones on the spot; some dwelling in conical huts of reed, plastered on the outside with mud, like the Abyssinians, and other inhabitants of rainy climates, and others again reposing beneath tents woven from the hair and wool of their own flocks. The whole population of this settlement does not exceed two hundred, and these are all Mohammedans, their sheikh acknowledging the Pasha of Sham for his sovereign.

Before we departed, we were taken to see one of the ancient Roman tombs, now used as a carpenter's shop, the occupier of it being employed in constructing a rude plough, and in fixing the irons to one of those long Syrian goads, which serve to spur the animal with one end, and clear the plough of clods with the other. On examining the size and weight of this iron at the foot, Maundrell's conjecture struck me as a very judicious one, that it might

have been with such a weapon that Shamgar made the prodigious slaughter related of him. * *

From this tomb we went to a still more perfect one, which was entirely cleared out, and now used as a private dwelling. Though the females of the family were within, we were allowed to enter, and descended by a flight of three steps, there being either a cistern or a deep sepulchre on the right of this descent. The portals and architrave were here perfectly exposed, the ornaments of the latter were a wreath and open flowers; the door also was divided by a studded bar, and pannelled, and the ring of the knocker remained, though the knocker itself had been broken off. The door, which was of the same size and thickness as those described, traversed easily on its hinges, and we were permitted to open and close it at pleasure. On examining it closely, all that has before been said on the mode of fixing and of fastening it, was confirmed, as we could here see every part of the construction more perfectly.

The tomb was about eight feet in height, on the inside, as there was a descent of a steep step from the stone threshold to the floor. Its size was about twelve paces square, but as no light was received into it except by the door, we could not see whether there was an inner chamber, as in some of the others. A perfect sarcophagus still remained within, and this was now used by the family as a chest for corn, and other provisions, so that this violated sepulchre of the dead had thus become a secure, a cool, and a convenient retreat to the living of a different race.

* And after him was Shamgar, the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad: and he also delivered Israel. — Judges, iii. 31.



CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM OOM KAIS, ACROSS THE HIEROMAX AND JORDAN, TO NAZARETH.

WE left the village of Oom Kais about four o'clock, and descended by a winding path down the steep hill on whose summit it stood. In about half an hour we reached its foot, and seeing some Bedouin tents near, our guides determined on halting here for the night.

We had arranged amongst ourselves, to reach, if possible, the small village of Sumuk, in the southern bight of the lake, and after sleeping there, to proceed to Tiberias, on its western edge, in the morning; but we now learned that there was an affair of

blood between the people of that neighbourhood and our guides ; and that, therefore, they could not enter either the one or the other. They professed their willingness to go to Nazareth, but no further ; and Mr. Bankes, not having seen that neighbourhood, or the coast to the northward of Jaffa, agreed to go directly thither with them.

It was to me as painful a circumstance to lose such an agreeable companion, as it was disadvantageous to abandon so safe a protection as our party had hitherto afforded to us all ; but I felt the call of duty as imperious, and determined to proceed alone to Sumuk, and from thence, on the following morning, through Tiberias, straight to Damascus, as the nearest road to Aleppo.

In the midst of the dispute, while we were yet endeavouring to prevail on the Arabs to continue on our original route, and before we had entered this Bedouin camp below, my horse fell, in crossing a ravine, and crushed my right leg and foot between the saddle and the rugged rock of the valley. As the horse rose nimbly, it was without difficulty that I was extricated from this situation, and placed again on my seat, the pain being violent but not excruciating at first, and, as I then thought, by no means alarming.

We continued towards the tents, which were pitched on the banks of the Nahr-el-Hami ; but as the sun was yet a full hour high, we determined, instead of alighting, to cross the river and visit the hot springs on the other side, which were close by.

We accordingly forded the Hieromax with some difficulty, as its stream was here broader, deeper, and more rapid than the Jordan at the time and place of our first crossing that river above Jericho. Reaching safely the opposite bank, we found a black soil, with some little cultivation ; and a few yards up from the stream, on the north-western side, we came to the ruins of a Roman building, enveloped in the steam of the springs on which it stood.

On approaching nearer, we found the edifice to be an ancient

bath ; the great hall, the cisterns, the private chambers, the recesses, and narrow stairs of which still remained, with several arches on the north, that either inclosed a court for horses, or belonged to some outer building attached to the establishment.

The whole of this edifice was constructed of the black stone, of which we had lately seen so much, and which appeared to us to be volcanic ; and we could now perceive, that in the cliffs above, through which the Hieromax made its way, as well as on the upper part of the opposite hills, this stone formed a deep layer on a basis of white soil almost like chalk. The whole bed of the river was one singular mixture of these black rocks, worn smooth and round by the passage of the water, but still as porous as pumice-stone, and equal masses of the white stone, which was nearly of as hard but smoother surface.

The spring which rose here presented to us a deep and capacious basin of beautifully transparent water, of the colour of those precious stones called aqua-marines, and more purely crystal-like than any fountain I had ever beheld. It rose in bubbles from the bottom ; but though deeper than the height of a man, a pin might have been distinguished at the bottom, or the inscription of a medal read, so unusually clear was the whole mass. The odour emitted in its steam was highly sulphureous, but its taste was considerably less so. Its heat at the fountain-head was such as to render it painful to the hand, if immersed beyond a few seconds ; but a fact, for which we could not account, was, that at a few yards distant from its source it was sensibly hotter.

From the fine transparent green of its central and deepest parts, the shade grew lighter as it approached the edges, and around the immediate rim of this natural basin, as well as on a little cataract formed by fallen masses of the ruined bath, the water had deposited a coating of the purest white, which gave an additional beauty to the appearance of the whole. The quantity of the water, and the force of its stream was sufficient to turn the largest mill ; and it

made a sensible addition to the waters of the Hieromax, where it joined that river only a few yards below.

As we found, that by gradual immersion the heat of the water could be borne, one of our old Arabs, Abu-Fatheel, and the Albanian Mohammed stripped and bathed in the upper basin, but described it as hotter than the hottest cistern of a modern Turkish bath. As I was lifted off my horse, while Mr. Bankes had his feet washed, I was glad to follow his example, and to bathe my bruised leg therein under the hope of some relief.

Though the Roman edifice that accommodated here both the victim of luxury, and the less sensual invalid, was now deserted and destroyed, the fountain which furnished its healing waters to the bath is still visited in search of restoration to health, by those who suffer an interruption of the enjoyment of that blessing; and though among them there are none perhaps sufficiently wealthy to build temples to Hygeia, yet none seem to have departed without leaving some humble offering, either propitiatory or grateful, as in front of the southern wall are about a thousand relics of hair, and nails, and teeth, and rags of every kind and colour, deposited by Arab visitors of the present day.

Josephus, in his account of the building of Tiberias, at the Lake of Gennesareth, says, that there were warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village called Emmaus.* These were distinct from the hot baths at Tiberias itself, which are mentioned in another place †; but whether the hot spring here on the banks of the Hieromax was, one of those that belonged to Emmaus, we could not determine, though its vicinity to Tiberias led us to suppose that it was. ‡

There appear, indeed, to have been several places of this name;

* Antiq. of the Jews, b. xviii. c. 2. s. 3.

† Jewish Wars, b. ii. c. 21. s. 6.

‡ Ἀμμαοῦς. Ubi thermæ sunt, prope Tiberiada. Jos. Ant. 233. — Reland. Palæst. Illust. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 560.

and situated in different parts of Palestine.* In the march of Vespasian's army, after passing from Cæsarea to Antipatris, and from thence to Lydda and Jamnia, he came to Emmaus. This was evidently in their neighbourhood, and to the westward of the Jordan; for, after returning again to the same place from an excursion into Idumæa, the army came *down* from thence to Neapolis or Siehem, and from thence to Jericho.† This may probably be the same with that Emmaus, which Titus assigned to the eight hundred of his veterans, whom he dismissed honourably from the army, and gave this place to them for their habitation, when he ordered all the rest of Judea to be exposed to sale.‡ It is there said to be distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs, or little more than six miles, which is too near for the Emmaus by the Lake of Tiberias.§ There was still another city of this name, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt, after which rebuilding, it was called Nicopolis, or the City of Victory. || The village of Emmaus, mentioned by St. Luke, is evidently the same with that assigned to the soldiers of Titus, since both of them are stated to be at the same distance of threescore furlongs from Jerusalem, and might have been the Emmaus at which Vespasian's army halted, but could not be that which was celebrated for its baths near the Lake of Tiberias. There were no remains near the bath described, which indicated a ruined town, nor could we trace

* Vide Reland. l. ii. c. 6. "de intervallis locorum in sacro codice notatis, situ Emmauntis, Bethaniæ, aliisque." p. 425 ad 430; and again in l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, — "Tria loca sunt nomine Emmauntis nota in Palæstina; 1. Urbs hæc, Nicopolis dicta postea. 2. Vicus in Evangelio Lucæ memoratus. 3. Locus vicinus Tiberiadi, qui à thermis nomen videtur traxisse." p. 758.

† Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8. s. 1.

‡ Jewish Wars, b. vii. c. 7. s. 6.

§ Emmaus, ἐμμαούς; timens consilium, vel matris augentis consilium, seu populus abjectus. D. nomen castelli distantis ab Jerusalem stadiis 60. Luc. xxiv. 13. Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 115.

|| Emmaus — notabilem victoriâ Maccabæi, et facto Servatoris quò se discipulis duobus aperuit, eo ipse die, quo à mortuis resurrexerat. (Luc. xxiv. 13.) Postea, hoc oppidum dicta Nicopolis. Cluverius, l. v. c. 20.

any resemblance of names, or hear of any traditions to assist our decision on this point.

We recrossed the Hieromax before sunset, and returned to the camp, when I was again obliged to be lifted from my horse and borne to the tent, where our reception was as kind as we could have desired.

We were forcibly struck here with some features of difference between the Arabs of this tribe and those which we had lately passed through, and with some peculiarities in the accompaniments of their camp, that seemed to us deserving of notice. Among their animals was neither a horse, a camel, a sheep, nor a goat, all of which are seen in the smallest party of Bedouins; while there was a fine herd of bullocks, and about twenty young calves, neither of which we had yet seen in either of the tribes with whom we had sought shelter or refreshment on our way. Dogs were numerous here; but these are common to all classes, whether they live in tents or in villages.

The Arabs themselves were remarkable for a flatness of feature that approached to the African, though their colour was not so dark as that of our own guides, whose features were of a long and prominent cast. Among their women we saw several with positively crisped hair, and noticed a black slave-girl of about ten years of age. The boys, however were still more remarkable, as their faces were in some instances sufficiently Chinese to have deceived me, if they had been introduced to me as such: they had the olive complexion, the lengthened eye-brow, the sunken and half-closed eye, separated by a broad distance, and the nose almost flat between them; lips not remarkably full, but projecting upper teeth; and, in short, a cast of countenance altogether different from any thing we had before seen in the country.

We endeavoured to learn the name of this tribe, but could only find that it was called Beni Sheikh Mohammed, from the name of its chief; and that they continued always on the banks of the

Hieromax, or near the Hami, which is the name equally given to the river, and to the hot springs near it.*

The source of this river was described to us as being three days' journey off, in the direction of Bosra, and they called the place Shelall; but whether implying thereby a cataract or rapids, as that word does on the Nile, we could not clearly understand.

After an humble but excellent supper of bread and oil for our guides, and a bowl of curdled sour milk for ourselves, we lay down to repose. Our party was thrice disturbed, however, during the night by the barking of the dogs, the encroachment of the buffaloes on our tent, and by the young calves within it.

4th. I passed a very restless night from the agonizing pain which I suffered in my foot, now swoln to an enormous size about the ankle; and this so incapacitated me from proceeding on my intended route to Damascus alone, that it was decided by all our party as indispensable, that I should accompany it to Nazareth, for the benefit of some medical application in the convent, and for repose.

We accordingly prepared to depart at sunrise, and I being lifted on my horse, we set out and continued at a slow pace on our journey. We now ascended the north-west angle of the hills on which Oom Kais stands, and continued over the brow of others to the westward, having from their summit the view of a fine valley ploughed for cultivation, on the south-west edge of the lake of Tiberias.

The sky was dark and cloudy, and the wind, though from the southward, colder than any we had yet felt in Palestine; so that we were glad to descend from the bare summits of these bleak hills, to enjoy a warmer air and shelter below.

Reaching their feet, we crossed the double stream of the Hieromax, and observed here, on looking back, that the dark masses of

* Hāmi, حامي, signifies warm, particularly as applied to water, in the modern Arabic; and its connection might, no doubt, be traced with Hammam and Emmaus, two words of the same import in the Arabic and Hebrew tongues.

rock, over which it wound its course, resembled a stream of cooled lava, when contrasted with the lighter soil by which it was edged on both sides. The stones of its bed here were equally porous with those we had seen above; the ground also showed small patches of sulphur in many places, and we were of opinion that the hot springs we had visited yesterday, the lakes of Cæsarea and Tiberias, the stone already described, the sulphureous and infertile nature of the plain of Jericho in many parts, and the whole phenomena observed of the Dead Sea, were sufficient indications of a volcanic effect, perhaps on the whole range of the long valley from near the sources of the Jordan to beyond the point of its issue in the Great Asphaltic Lake.

We continued our way from hence across a fine plain of, at least, three miles in breadth, covered with a light red soil, and apparently highly fertile; and directing our course due west, we reached, in about three hours from the time of our setting out, the stream of the Jordan. It was here about one hundred and twenty feet broad, barely fordable by the horses, and having a current of about two knots per hour; resembling in all these particulars that portion of the Hieromax, which we had crossed yesterday to visit the hot springs and the Roman bath; the double arm of that stream forded this morning being much inferior.

Near the place of our recrossing the Jordan, which appeared to be about two or three miles from the point of its outlet from the Tiberian Lake, we observed some old ruins on an elevated mound, which appeared to us like a castle or some post of military defence. Our guides called it Jissera-el-Shereeah *, and said that beneath it was once a bridge for crossing the river, some remains of which were still to be seen. We were extremely desirous of turning aside to examine this spot, which stood on the eastern bank; but

* جسر لا شريعة, literally, the bridge of the Shereeah. This last word, which signifies "any place where beasts drink," is the name by which the Jordan is mostly called by all the Arabs who encamp near it.

the Arabs were in such a state of constant alarm, that we could not prevail on them to halt for a moment.

After fording the Jordan, we began almost immediately to ascend another line of bare and stoney hills, leaving a village in ruins on our left, about half-way up it. On the summit, we found the cold excessive, and the whole atmosphere was now so darkened with the mist brought by the strong southern wind which blew, that we could barely trace the winding course of the river in the plain below. We could see nothing of its boundaries to the south, and could but just distinguish the place of the lake behind us, and a fine ploughed plain in a hollow on our right.

On descending over the western side of these hills, we had the Mount of Tabor immediately before us, and a waving ground, partly barren and partly cultivated, between us and its foot, extending perhaps from six to nine miles in length. In our way across this tract, we passed the village of Sereen, consisting of about thirty or forty dwellings, and near it saw half a dozen Bedouins' tents pitched. Further on, we passed a second village, somewhat larger, called Cafr Sabt, near which we were accosted by some suspicious characters on horseback, but passed on without further molestation.

At length we approached Mount Tabor, the eastern foot of which was highly cultivated, and its steep sides were richly clothed with woods, while on its summit some portions of the ruined buildings there were visible from below.

Leaving the mountain itself on our left, we passed through a narrow ravine, well clothed with oak and olive trees, and joined here a party of soldiers, going from Damascus to some place on the coast. From this valley, where several coveys of partridges were sprung, and where the wooded scenery was an agreeable relief to the barrenness of that which we had passed over in our morning ride, we entered on the great plain of Esdraelon.

Though the rains had fallen twice since my first passing it, not a blade of verdure was seen throughout its wide extent; and its

dull brown surface, here and there interspersed with rising ridges of grey rocks, and bounded on both sides with bare and stoney hills, seemed to us the very reverse of beautiful; so much had the magnificent scenery of the country east of the Jordan destroyed our relish for less grand and less picturesque views.

" We continued along the northern edge of this plain of Esdraelon, for about an hour, until we reached a small village, called by its inhabitants Belled-Eksall. It stood on one of those low ridges of rock which are seen here and there throughout the plain, and the sight of a large sarcophagus, on its highest part, induced us to turn aside for a moment to examine it more closely. We found ourselves amid sepulchres similar to those we had seen on the morning of yesterday, but more perfect. Besides the sarcophagus which had first attracted our notice, and which was of rude execution and unusually large in all its dimensions, we saw subterranean vaults, descended to by circular openings, like the mouths of wells, and apparently capacious below, none of which we could stay to enter. The most marked feature of the place, however, was the many graves cut down into the rock, exactly in the way in which our modern graves are dug in the earth. These were covered with rude blocks of stone, sufficiently large to overlap the edge of the grave on all sides, and of a height or thickness equal to the depth of the grave itself, varying from two to four feet. There were in all, perhaps, twenty of these covered sepulchres still perfect; and, in one, whose closing-block had been so moved aside as to leave an opening through which the interior of the grave could be seen, a human skull remained perfect, possessing no visible peculiarity of form, but being apparently of the same size as those of the present race.

These were unquestionably the works of a very early age, and might, perhaps, have been the sepulchres of those heroes who fell in the great battle between Barak and Sisera, which ended in the defeat of the latter, upon this celebrated plain, of which Mount

Tabor and the river Kishon form such prominent features*; or of those Jews, of whom ten thousand were slain in a battle with Gabinius, near to Mount Tabor, during the Roman wars here. †

This village of Eksall is probably that of Xaloth, which is made one of the boundaries of the Lower Galilee, and whose name it still very nearly retains. In his description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, the Jewish historian says, "As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends, in length, from Tiberias to Zabulon, and, of the maritime places, Ptolemais is its neighbour: its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the Great Plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meroth to Thellah, a village near to Jordan. ‡

• The situation of this village of Eksall, on the edge of the great plain of Esdraelon, corresponds very accurately with that given to Xaloth, and its name may be traced, with but little variation beyond that which is common to names passing from one language to another; while the sepulchres here described sufficiently indicate it to be a place of great antiquity. §

From this village of Eksall, which is about an hour's distance from the foot of Tabor north-westerly, we began to ascend the rugged hills which form the eastern boundary of Esdraelon on our right; and from the steepness of the ascent, and the rocky nature of the path, it took us a full hour to gain the summit: all our party alighting from their horses except myself, who could not place my wounded foot on the ground.

When we had reached the top of the hill, which we computed to be about seven hundred feet above the level of the plain below, we found ourselves on the brink of an extensive hollow, like a

* Judges, iv. 13, 14.

† Jewish Wars, b. i. c. 8. s. 7.

‡ Wars of the Jews, b. iii. c. 3. s. 1.

§ Reland de Palæstinæ nominibus, situ, terminis, partitione, &c. l. 1. c. 55. p. 367.; and lib. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, in voce *Ξαλός*, p. 1062.

shallow bason, or the crater of a volcano, in shape, and the town of Nazareth before us in this hollow, to the north-east, seated on the southern side of a steep hill, and hemmed in on all sides by rising ground. Our descent from hence was gentle; and in half an hour, after passing through cultivated land and some green turf for pasture, we entered the town, which now appeared to us large, respectable, opulent, and well peopled, after the many smaller villages we had recently passed through on our way.

Our reception at the convent was full of kindness and respectful attention, though the superior himself was absent on a visit to Acre. I was lifted from my horse, and borne up stairs by the servants; and after passing an hour with the friars in mutual enquiry, had a medical application prepared for my wound, and gladly retired to my chamber for repose.

11th. For the whole of the last week I had been confined to the convent, the state of my foot rendering it impossible for me to proceed on my journey; and my time, during this interval, was chiefly employed in arranging the notes of our journey from Geraza to this place, and in prosecuting my studies of the vulgar Arabic from aids furnished me by the Padré Curator of the convent.

Mr. Banks quitted us this morning, on an excursion to Acre, Mount Carmel, and Cesarea, and I was therefore left quite alone. As a first exercise, however, I ventured to mount my horse to-day, and took a short ride to the Mountain of the Precipitation, as it is called, from a belief that it is the one from which the enraged Nazareens sought to precipitate our Saviour.

The road towards it lies over a tolerably level space for nearly a mile, in a southern direction, and it then becomes necessary to dismount and go on foot over a very rugged road, descending into a deep ravine, between two hills. After a quarter of an hour's scramble we turned up on the right, and ascending the southern point of the hill, we came first to an altar in a recess hewn out of the rock. This was held sacred, as being the spot where Jesus dined with his disciples. There are, close by this, two large cir-

cular cisterns for preserving rain-water, each well stuccoed on the inside; and, besides these, there are several portions of buildings, all said to be the remains of a religious establishment founded there by Santa Helena.

Immediately over this spot, and on the edge of a precipice about thirty feet in height, are two large flat stones, set up on their edges close to the brink. In the centre, and scattered over different parts of one of them, are several round marks, like the deep imprint of fingers in wax, and these are insisted on to be the marks of Christ's grasp when he clung to the stone, and thereby escaped being thrown headlong down.

This is among one of the most bungling of the absurd traditions which prevail in this land of miracles. St. Luke represents the Jews as thrusting Jesus out of the synagogue in which he taught, and leading him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong; but he, passing through the midst of them, went his way.* Nothing is more inconsistent, therefore, than to fix on this spot, as it is nearly two miles distant from the synagogue which they still shew in the present town, is almost inaccessible from the steep and rocky nature of the road, and is decidedly not on a hill on which Nazareth could ever have been built; nor is the statement of Christ's clinging to a stone for safety, more in harmony with the sentence which describes his escape.

But this variance with the very scriptures on which they profess to found all their faith, might easily pass among a people who seldom read them, were it not that the ten great marks reckoned up in different parts of the stone as the impression of the ten fingers of the Messiah, are so disposed that they could not have been made at once by any possible position of the human hand, and are too clumsily executed and arranged to deceive even the most superficial observer.

* St. Luke, iv. 28. to 30.

The view from this precipice commands the whole breadth of the plain of Esdraelon to the south, and while it shows the range of Carmel in the distance toward the sea-shore; it looks over also upon Hermon, at the foot of which is the village of Nain, where Jesus raised the widow's son. Mount Tabor and the sepulchres of Eksall are not visible from hence, being shut in by the eastern hills; but a number of small settlements are seen scattered over the plain.

On our return, I felt refreshed by the air and occupation of the ride; but I found my foot still too tender to be used without extreme caution, and suffered even from the slight exercise of this excursion.

I was determined, however, to prosecute my journey with all possible speed, and began, accordingly, to prepare for my departure to-morrow. From the best information which I could collect, the road by Tiberias to Damascus was recommended as the safest and shortest, and this, therefore, I proposed to pursue, taking only the precaution to provide myself with a person acquainted with the bye-paths and high-ways, and leaving the rest to fortune.



CHAPTER XXV.

FROM NAZARETH TO TIBERIAS.

FEBRUARY 12th. Under the conduct of a guide from the town, we quitted Nazareth at an early hour, and ascended the hills to the eastward of it. Our road was stoney and rugged for the first two hours, when we were chiefly on hilly ground, and in the early part of it, we had a commanding view of the plain of Esdraelon and Mount Tabor, with the village of Eksall appearing through an opening in the hills.

At nine we passed under the village of Ain Mahhil, leaving it

on the left, and having Tabor immediately opposite to it, about two miles on our right. The village is small, and inhabited entirely by Mohammedans; it is situated on the brow of a hill, and the villagers are, more generally, shepherds than cultivators, though both classes are to be found there. In the vale below, the country is woody, having the oak, now bare, some few olive-trees, and the wild carob, bearing the same name among the Arabs. We saw here a land-tortoise of a small size, weighing from three to four pounds.

At ten, we passed another small village, called Oom-el-Jebeal, leaving it also on our left. This village is seated at the foot of a hill, and is both smaller and meaner than the last, and its inhabitants are Mohammedans.

From hence our course inclined a little to the southward of east, until we reached Sook-el-Khan*, which we entered an hour before noon. This place is frequented for its weekly bazar on the Monday of the Christians, and, as every description of commodity in use among the people of the country is then collected here for sale, crowds of purchasers are attracted from all quarters. During the six other days of the week, it is entirely deserted, and not a creature remains even to guard the place. There are still existing here the remains of a Saracen fort in good preservation, and a khan or caravansera of the same age, but in a more ruined state: the former of these is of a square form, with circular towers at the angles, and in the centre of each wall, and is about a hundred paces in extent on each of its sides. The latter is more extensive, besides having other buildings attached to it. Over the door of entrance is an Arabic inscription, and within are arched piazzas, little shops, private rooms, &c., with one good well of water in the centre.

We found assembled on the outside of these buildings, from four to five thousand persons, as well as numerous herds of cattle,

* سوق لا خان, literally, the market or fair of the caravansera.

Arab horsemen, Bedouins on foot, Fellaheen, or peasantry, from the neighbourhood, women, and even children, were all mingled together in the gay confusion of a European fair. We turned into the Khan to water our horses, and halted for half an hour in the shade, as the heat was oppressive, the thermometer being at 92°, and the whole country parched by the long drought. We met here a young Nazarene, who had been the early play-fellow of our guide from the same place, and in the course of the interview between these two, it appeared that the former, though born of Christian parents, had become a Mohammedan from choice; it was added, that instances of a similar change were frequent, but that the fact of a Mohammedan becoming a Christian had never been heard of here. The reason is evident: temporal advantages are on the side of the former, and these, being certain and present, generally weigh more with this class of mankind than spiritual blessings, which appear to them uncertain and remote.

The whole of our road from Nazareth to Sook-el-Khan had been more or less rugged and hilly, but on our departure from hence, we entered on a fertile plain. In our way across this, we met a party of Jews on asses, coming from Tiberias to the great public market, and conceiving me, from my Turkish dress and white turban, to be a Mohammedan, they all dismounted and passed by us on foot. These persecuted people are held in such opprobrium here, that it is forbidden to them to pass a mussulman mounted, while Christians are suffered to do so either on mules or asses, though to them it is also forbidden to ride on horseback without the express permission of the Pasha.

Throughout this rising plain, we perceived large quantities of the black porous stone which we had observed near the hot springs on the banks of the Nahr-el-Hami, east of the Jordan; the soil, however, was a light reddish earth, and its whole surface was cracked by excessive drought, and plentifully covered with thistles.

We passed by the shaft of a white marble column on the road, and soon after noon reached the village of Cafr Sabt. This is al-

together built of the black porous stone already spoken of, great part of which appears to have been well-hewn blocks, as if the remains of former and better edifices. We saw here the pedestal of a white marble column, and several large stones used as architraves and portals to door-ways, but no other vestiges of antiquity. Though we had been riding over a gently-rising plain all the way from Sook-el-Khan thus far, we found this village seated on the edge of a steep hill, facing to the eastward, with a deep valley below, and another rising slope going up to the eastward from its base, on a lower level than that which we had passed.

In our descent from this hill, we halted at a large watering-place to drink; but though the spring was ordinarily sufficient for the supply of the whole village above, it now scarcely yielded its water but by distinct drops. We found a solitary female here watching her pitcher as it slowly filled, and spinning at her distaff in the mean time. She kindly supplied our wants from her own scanty store, and about half a mile further on, we came to the watering-place of the cattle. Several herds were assembled at this place, and water for them was so scarce, that there remained no hope of our being able to procure any for our own animals; so that, to avoid altercations, we passed on.

On reaching the foot of this hill, and beginning to ascend the eastern slope, we saw several flocks of ghazelles, consisting each of from four to six in number. The whole of the country seemed so burnt up by the unseasonable heat, and want of rain, that neither for them, nor for the flocks of the shepherds, was there a blade of verdure to be seen.

After ascending slowly for about two hours, we reached the summit of this slope, and came suddenly in sight of the lake and town of Tiberias. We found ourselves again on the brow of a steep hill facing to the eastward, and forming the western boundary of the hollow in which the lake is contained. The view from hence is grand and interesting. To the south, inclining easterly, the vale of the Jordan was distinctly open; to the south-west the

rounded top of Tabor rose above the intervening hills; to the north, the lofty Libanus, the Gebel-el-Thelj* or Gebel-el-Sheikh† of the Arabs, reared its snow-clad head; while the bare and yellow mountains of the eastern shore served but to give a brighter blue to the scarcely ruffled waters of the lake below. The town from hence has a more completely Moorish appearance, from its high walls and circular towers, than any other I had yet seen in Palestine. The waters, on whose western edge it stands, were as still as those of the Dead Sea, from being confined in a deep basin, and hemmed closely in by opposite ranges of hills. The scenery around possessed many features of grandeur, though destitute of wood and verdure; and the whole, indeed, was such as to render our momentary halt there agreeable in the extreme.

On descending the hill, we observed a cistern for water, its spring being now dry; and while the muezzin‡ was calling to the prayers of El Assr, from the gallery of the mosque within the town, we entered it by the gate of the western wall. Taking a southern course through the town, we were conducted to the house of the Catholic priest, and alighted there to halt for the night.

We found the Abuna § himself occupied in opening pods of cotton in the outer court; while about twenty children were bawling, rather than reading Arabic in a small dark room behind him. The mat, on which the father sat, being sufficiently large to contain us both, I seated myself beside him; but, whether from religious pride or any other motive, I knew not, he neither rose, nor gave me any of the accustomed forms of salutation. The first question which he asked me, on my being seated, was, whether I was a Christian, and how I made the sign of the cross. I replied,

* جبل لا شلج, the Mountain of Snow.

† جبل لا شيخ, the Mountain of the Chief.

‡ موزن, the public crier who announces the hour of prayer.

§ أبونا, literally, "Our Father." This is the name generally given to Christian pastors throughout the Holy Land, by those who speak of them in Arabic.

that I was an Englishman on my way to Damascus, and had thought that he would be glad to entertain me for a night on that consideration alone ; but added, that if he felt any scruples at harbouring an heretic, in which light the English are considered by all the Christians of the East, I should most willingly withdraw to seek some other shelter. His son then hinted, to him in a loose way, that though the English did not bow to the Pope, they were excellent people to deal with, for they travelled all the world over to get the hidden treasures of ruined cities, and always paid twice as much as the people of any other nation for any service rendered to them. This seemed to reconcile the father so completely to my stay, that throughout the whole of the evening nothing was talked of but the English, their wealth, their wisdom, and proficiency in the black art, and the certainty of their being the greatest in this world, whatever fate they might be doomed to in the next.

Being desirous of supping on the fish of the lake, a person had been dispatched on the instant after our arrival to procure some ; but after a search of two hours, he returned without being able to find any. This fine piece of water abounds with a great variety of excellent fish ; but from the poverty, and one must add, the ignorance and the indolence of the people who live on its borders, there is not a boat or a raft, either large or small, throughout its whole extent. Some three years since, a boat did exist here, but this being broken up from decay, has never been replaced ; so that the few fish which are now and then taken, are caught by lines from the shore, nets never being used.

The conduct of the southern Arabs on the shores of the Yemen forms a striking contrast in this particular to that of their brethren in the north. Along all the shores of Arabia Felix are small rafts called catamarans, composed only of four or five rude logs of wood lashed together, on which fishermen go out for several miles against a strong wind and boisterous sea, and remain often a whole day and night half-immersed in water to procure supplies of fish

for the market ; while here, where the lake is scarcely ever ruffled by a wind of any violence, where the water is shallow, the shelter good, and the fish abundant near the shore, the means of procuring supplies of food from thence are uncertain and neglected.

When the sun had set, we retired into an inner room, which the whole of the family inhabited, including the Abuna and his wife, the elder son Yusuf, his wife Martha, and the infant child Ibrahim, with two grown boys, younger sons of the old man. The whole of the space appropriated to this number, was about ten feet long, by six broad ; and in the same enclosure, on a lower level, was a stall for two cows, and a little place apart for three pigs. Besides this, were to be seen above little balconies, like large breeding-cages for birds, which appeared to be store-rooms or lockers for provisions. The whole compass of the outer walls which inclosed all these departments, was not a square of more than twelve feet at the utmost. The roof was flat, and composed of branches of wood laid across rude beams, and covered by mortar, which formed the terrace above. The only ornament seen within, was the cross, daubed in red upon the walls, and repeated at every interval of space not otherwise occupied ; and even over the stall of the oxen and the trough of the hogs, this holy emblem was conspicuously portrayed.

The hour of supper arrived, and a bowl of boiled wheat and dūrra with oil was produced for the family. I was turning up my sleeves to wash my hands in preparation for the meal, when the old man asked me, whether we had no provisions in our sack. I replied, that we had only taken sufficient for the day, and had finished it at Sook-el-Khan, being assured by the friars at Nazareth that we should find every thing we could desire here. He then said, “ you must purchase supper for yourselves.” I replied, that we would not willingly intrude on his stock, and had therefore sought to purchase fish at first ; but that since none could be procured, we should content ourselves with whatever might be found. Four eggs were then produced from a cupboard in the house ; but

before they were broken, eight paras were demanded of me for them. I desired that their number might be doubled, and the remaining eight paras were also asked for before they were produced. Six paras were then claimed for oil to fry them in, though this was poured out of the same jar from which the lamp was filled, and they seemed to think that they had laid us under great obligations to their hospitality in merely furnishing us with bread and shelter.

All this was so contrary to the behaviour of Arabs in general, and so directly opposite to that of the Mohammedans, and of the Bedouins in particular, that we were forcibly struck with it; nor could even the evident poverty of this religious chief account sufficiently for it; since among the very poorest of the classes named, the same warm hospitality is found as among the richest, varying only in its extent according to their several means. We made a hearty supper, however, and the old Abuna himself, after finishing his portion of the family bowl, came without ceremony to begin a new meal at our mess, of which he took at least an equal share.

A number of visits were paid in the evening by heads of Christian families, and the topic of conversation was the heretical peculiarities of the English, and their lamentable ignorance of the true religion. Some insisted that none of them believed in the existence of a God; others thought it was still worse that they did not bow to the Pope; many seemed to know that they did not hold the Virgin Mary in esteem, and that the crucifix was not worn by them; and all believed that there were neither churches, priests, fasts, festivals, nor public prayers throughout the country, but that every one followed the devices of his own heart without restraint.

It would have been as easy to have moved a mountain, as to have changed opinions like these; and the task of informing the very ignorant is often an ungrateful one. I barely replied with truth, therefore, to their questions; and, even in doing this, I made more enemies than friends, since it necessarily implied a contradiction of what they before held to be true.

Before the retirement of the party, we talked of our road to Damascus, and it was the opinion of all, that there was danger in every route which could be taken to that city. This was a subject on which their authority was of some value, and therefore worth consulting them on. By the latest advices from Sham, it appeared that the division of parties grew rather higher every day there, and that the roads in the neighbourhood were therefore infested, and robberies committed on them with impunity. On the sea-coast it was said to be worse, on account of the domineering insolence of the soldiery, who were now indeed all masters of their own particular districts. Besides the original usurper of the pashalick of Sham, who still continued at Damascus, and the pretensions of Suliman of Acre thereto, it was said that one Ali Pasha, who had been the Capudan Pasha of the Turks, was on his way from Stamboul, to take possession of the city by order of the Sultan. A general belief prevailed also that Toussoun Pasha, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, had designs this way, since he was now at the Sublime Porte, as conqueror of the Wahabees, and deliverer of the Prophet's tomb; and it was thought that the city of Damascus, which is one of the gates of pilgrimage, would be given to him as a recompense.

Such was the state of things, at the present moment, and the hope of its amelioration was but faint and distant. It was recommended to me, however, to take from hence two armed men as an escort, and attempt the journey by an unfrequented road, where the danger was thought to be less, from there being less chance of plunder, and consequently fewer adventurers. An arrangement of this nature was so generally approved of, that before we slept, two men were found, who engaged to depart with us in the morning.



CHAPTER XXVI.

JOURNEY ALONG THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

FEBRUARY 13th. Having paid for the food of our horses, and purchased some bread of our host for the way, we prepared to mount, when the old grey-bearded Abuna demanded of us a backshish *, for our entertainment : although we had already paid for every article consumed by us, a few paras were then given to him,

* بخشش, backshish, though represented as a word of Persian origin, is in use through most parts of Arabia, to denote a gift or a reward.

which he accepted with evident avidity, and at sunrise we departed from his dwelling.

Leaving Tiberias, by the same gate at which we entered, we pursued our course to the northward, along the western edge of the lake. The ground rises here, so that the north-west angle of the town stands on a hill, while all the rest of it is low. We observed some fragments of a wall, which might have been part of the inclosure of the ancient city, and if so must have been at its northern extremity, as just beyond it are a number of old tombs, apparently of higher antiquity than the present town.

In about an hour after quitting Tiberias we came to the remains of some ancient baths, close to the water's edge. Of these there were three in number, the only portion of each remaining being a large circular cistern, in which the visitors must have bathed openly, as there is no appearance of any covered building ever having been constructed over them. They were all nearly of the same size; the one around the edge of which I walked being eighty paces in circumference, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. Each of these were distant from the other about one hundred yards, ranging along the beach of the lake, and each was supplied by a separate spring, rising also near the sea. The water was in all of them beautifully transparent, of a slightly sulphureous taste, and of a light-green colour, as at the bath near Oom Kais; but the heat of the stream here was scarcely greater than that of the atmosphere, as the thermometer in the air stood at 84°, and when immersed in water rose to 86°. The first of these circular cisterns had a stone bench or pathway running round its interior, for the accommodation of the bathers, and the last had a similar work on the outside; in the latter a number of small black fish were seen swimming. Each of the baths was supplied by a small aqueduct

* Pliny mentions a fountain in Armenia, that had black fishes in it, of which whoever ate died suddenly. Nat. Hist. b. xxxi. c. 2.

from its separate spring, and there were appearances of a semi-circular wall having inclosed them all within one area.

Leaving this spot, we continued our way along the lake, and about nine o'clock, came to a small village called Migdal, where a few Mohammedan families reside. This is seated near the edge of the lake, beneath a range of high cliffs, in which small grottoes are seen; and besides the few dwellings of the present inhabitants, there are the remains of an old square tower, and some larger buildings of rude construction, and apparently great antiquity. * This place is, no doubt, the Magdala of the Gospel, to the coasts of which Jesus was conveyed by ship, after his feeding the multitude on a mountain nigh unto the sea of Galilee †, and the Migdal of the earlier Scriptures. ‡

From this we entered upon a more extended plain, the hills retiring from the lake on the left; and continuing our course in a straight line across it, so as to leave the beach at some little distance on our right, we reached, in half an hour, a place called Khan-el-Munney. There are remains of a large Saracen khan, or caravansera, here, from which the place derives its name; and near the same spot we observed several large mill-stones, now broken.

Passing on, in a more easterly direction, we ascended over a little promontory, around which there was no road by the beach, and remarked the remains of a narrow paved way. Close by this, on the hill on our left, we were shewn what is considered to be the site of Gennesareth, but we could trace no remains of any buildings on the spot. It was here, too, our guides said, that the

* Migdal signifies "a tower," in Hebrew, and, as such, is given as an affix to many scriptural names, as may be seen in Reland, l. iii. p. 897, 898. It is in speaking of the tower of Eder, beyond which Jacob spread his tent, (Gen. xxxv. 21.) and which was thought to be near to Bethlehem, that he notices another place of the same name near the lake of Tiberias: — "Fit et mentio loci Migdal Eder in vita R. Simeonis Ben Chalaphtha: quamvis ille locus videatur prope mare Tiberiadis situs fuisse, ubi מגדל עדר Μαγδαλα Γαδαρων Lightfootus constituit à Gadaris dicta. Lib. iii. de urbibus, p. 898.

† Matt. xv. 29.

‡ Joshua, xix. 38.

legion of devils entered into the swine, who ran violently down a steep place into the sea.* The voyages of Jesus and his disciples by ship across this lake, are so vaguely described that it is exceedingly difficult to understand them clearly. From St. Mark, who first relates this story, the scene appears to have been on the eastern side of the lake, as far as can be gathered from the context. After his withdrawing himself with his disciples to the sea, where great multitudes from Galilee followed him †, and requested that a small ship should wait on him, because of the multitude, lest they should throng him ‡, Jesus is first described to have gone up into a mountain, where he ordained the twelve Apostles §, and afterwards to have entered into a ship, and sat on the sea, while the whole multitude was by the sea on the || land. And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, “Let us pass over unto the other side.” ¶ And they came over unto the other side of the sea, unto the country of the Gadarenes. And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs, a man with an unclean spirit, &c.” ** •

St. Luke, who is more explicit in all his details, says expressly, after describing the passage of Jesus and his disciples across the lake, “And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee.” †† He says also, “then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes †† round about, besought him to depart from them, for they were taken with great fear; and he went up into the ship and returned back again.” §§ St. Mark also adds, that the man thus freed from the legion of devils, departed and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done for him, and all men did marvel. “And when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side,

* St. Mark, v. 13.

† Ibid. iii. 7.

‡ Ibid. iii. 9.

§ Ibid. iii. 13.

|| Ibid. iv. 1.

¶ Ibid. iv. 35.

** Ibid. v. 12.

†† St. Luke, viii. 26.

§§ St. Matthew calls it the country of the Gergesenes, viii. 28.

¶¶ St. Luke, viii. 37.

much people gathered unto him, and he was nigh unto the sea," &c. * The country of the Decapolis is known to have been on the *east* of this lake, and that of the Gadarenes, which appears, from the testimony of both these writers, to have been the scene of the miracles in question, must have been on the *east* also, to be *over against* Galilee, as St. Luke describes it; so that the fixing on the spot near Gennesareth could have been suggested by no other consideration, than that it was the steepest place on the *west* side, of the lake leading immediately down into the sea, and that it was more convenient to possess holy ground on *this* side than the *other*, where the dominion of the Bedouins renders religious visits difficult, if not impossible.

The waters of this lake lie in a deep basin, surrounded on all sides with lofty hills, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at each extreme; for which reason, long-continued tempests from any one quarter are unknown here; and this lake, like the Dead Sea, with which it communicates, is, for the same reason, never violently agitated for any length of time. The same local features, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar basin, are of momentary duration, and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded by a calm.†

From the supposed site of Gennesareth, we continued our way along the edge of the lake in nearly an eastern direction, and in about half an hour, reached a place called Tahhbahh, where only one Arab family resides, at a corn-mill near the water. There are several hot springs here, of the same nature as those at El Hami, below Oom Kais, but still more copious. Around them are re-

* St. Luke, v. 20, 21.

† "And they launched forth. But as they sailed, Jesus fell asleep, and there came down a storm of wind on the lake, and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy. And they came to him and awoke him, and said, Master, Master, we perish. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water, and there was a calm." — St. Luke, viii. 23.

main of four large baths, each supplied by its own separate spring, and each having an aqueduct for carrying off its superfluous waters into the lake, from the edge of which they are distant about three hundred yards.

The most perfect of these baths is an open octangular basin of excellent masonry, stuccoed on the inside, being one hundred and five paces in circumference, and about twenty-five feet in depth. We descended to it by a narrow flight of ten stone steps, which lead to a platform about twelve feet square, and elevated considerably above the bottom of the bath, so that the bathers might go from thence into deeper water below. This large basin is now nearly filled with tall reeds, growing up from the bottom; but its aqueduct, which is still perfect, and arched near the end, carries down a full and rapid stream to turn the mill erected at its further end. On the sides of this aqueduct are seen incrustations similar to those described on the aqueduct of Tyre, leading from the cisterns of Solomon at Ras-el-ayn, and occasioned, no doubt, by the same cause. The whole of the work, both of the baths and its aqueduct, appears to be Roman; and it is executed with the care and solidity which generally marks the architectural labours of that people. At a short distance beyond this, to the eastward, is a small circular building called Hemmam-el-Aioobe, or the Bath of Job, but it is apparently of the same age as those near it.

It was almost noon when we reached Tal-hhewn, a station of Arabs, where we alighted to refresh: this place is said to have been formerly called Caphernaom, but at present it is known only by the name of Tal-hhewn, or Tal-hhewm, as it is differently pronounced. It is seated close upon the edge of the lake, having the town of Tiberias to bear exactly S.S.W. by compass, distant apparently from nine to twelve miles in a straight line; the vale of Jericho; wide open, bearing S. by W. from twelve to fifteen miles from its upper edge; an ancient castle, called El-Hussan, in the mountains S. E. by S., from eight to ten miles; and the en-

trance of the Jordan, from the northward, E. N. E., from four to five miles.

The description which Josephus has left us of this lake is like all the other pictures drawn by him, admirably faithful in the detail of local features. "Now this lake of Gennesareth, is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; and it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now, when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere." *

All these features are drawn with an accuracy that could only have been attained by one resident in the country; the size is still nearly the same, the borders of the lake still end at the beach, or the sands, at the feet of the mountains which environ it. Its waters are still as sweet and temperate as ever, and the lake abounds with great numbers of fish of various sizes and kinds.

In more early times, the sea of Galilee, or lake of Gennesareth, was called the sea of Chinnereth, from a city of that name seated on it, belonging to the children of Naphtali †, and the edge of this sea on the other side Jordan, eastward, was made the western boundary of the portion of Gad, who occupied all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon. ‡ Gennesareth is most probably the original name of this sea of Chinnereth, gradually corrupted; Galilee was the name given to the lake from

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. iii. c. 13. s. 7.

† Judges, xix. 35.

‡ Joshua, xiii. 24. to 27.

its situation on the eastern borders of that division of Palestine; and Tiberias, which is its most modern name, must have been bestowed on it after the building of that city by Herod. This last, both the town and the lake still retain, under the Arabic form of Tabarëeah; and the present inhabitants, like the earliest ones, call their water a *sea*, and reckon it and the Dead Sea, to the south of them, to be the two largest known, except the great ocean. Diodorus Siculus, in his account of the marvellous properties of the Lake Asphaltes, fails not to remark the great singularity of the bitterness of its waters; though there are, as he says, great rivers whose waters are exceedingly sweet, which empty themselves into it*; and this may be strictly said of the Zerkah, the Hieromax, and the Jordan, the two last of which empty themselves first into the lake of Tiberias, and then go by the southern channel of the Jordan, through the valley of Jericho, into the Dead Sea.†

The appearance of the lake, as seen from this point of view at Capernaum, is still grand; its greatest length runs nearly north and south, from twelve to fifteen miles, and its breadth seems to be, in general, from six to nine miles.‡ The barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give, however, a cast of dullness to the picture; and this is increased to melancholy by the dead calm of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found.

There were fleets of some force on the lake of Tiberias during

* Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 4., and l. xix. c. 6..

† It is for this reason that the Dead Sea is called in Scripture, the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan. — Josh. xviii. 19.; Deut. xv. 5.

‡ Abulfeda, in describing the lake of Tiberias, says, طوله اثني عشر ميلاً وعرضها ستة أميلاً. "The length of it is twelve miles, and the breadth of it is six miles." He farther describes its situation, في الغور in the *deep valley*. This name of El Ghoor, is given to the whole of the valley, or low country, from the Dead Sea through the plain of Jordan, all the way up to the Gebel-el-Thelj, the Shenir of the Scriptures, north of this lake of Tiberias.

the wars of the Jews with the Romans, and very bloody battles were fought between them. The ships were, no doubt, as large as the common vessels then in use on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and, as has been observed by Whiston, those that sailed on this sea of Galilee are always called by Josephus *Nηες* and *Πλοια*; and *Σκαφη*, i. e. plainly, ships; and this, he adds, should not be rendered boats, as it is often done.*

Tal-hhewn, though now only a station of Bedouins, appears to have been the site of some considerable settlement, as ruined buildings, hewn stones, broken pottery, &c., are scattered around here over a wide space.† The foundations of a large and magnificent edifice are still to be traced here, though there remains not sufficient of the building itself, to decide whether it was a temple or a palace. It appears to have had its greatest length from north to south, and thus presented a narrow front towards the lake. The northern end of the building is sixty-five paces in length; and, as the foundation of the eastern wall appears to extend from hence down close to the sea, it must have been nearly four times that measurement, or two hundred paces in extent. Within this space are seen large blocks of sculptured stone, in friezes, cornices, mouldings, &c., and among them two masses which looked like pannels of some sculptured wall. I conceived them at first to have been stone doors, but they were too thick for that purpose, and had no appearance of pivots for hinges; nor could they have been sarcophagi, as they were both perfectly solid.

The sculpture seems to have been originally fine, but is now much defaced by time. The block was nine spans long, four and a half spans wide, and two spans thick in its present state, and lay on its edge against other hewn stones.

Among the singularities we noticed here, were double pedestals,

* Whiston's Josephus, Life, sec. 32. in a note.

† Tal is, in Hebrew, "a ruinous heap." See Packhurst, in voce *תל*; and in modern Arabic it has mostly that signification, though sometimes applied to small hillocks generally.

double shafts, and double capitals, attached to each other in one solid mass, having been perhaps thus used at the angles of colonnades. There were at least twenty pedestals of columns within this area, occupying their original places, besides many others overturned and removed, and all the capitals we saw were of the Corinthian order and of a large size.

Near to this edifice, and close upon the edge of the lake, are the walls of a solid building, evidently constructed with fragments of the adjacent ruins, as there are seen in it shafts of pillars worked into the masonry, as well as pieces of sculptured stones intermingled with plain ones. This small building is vaulted within, though the Arabs have raised a flat terrace on its roof, and a poor family, with their cattle, now use the whole for their dwelling.

To the north-east of this spot, about two hundred yards, are the remains of a small domestic bath, the square, cistern, and channels for supplying it with water, being still perfect; and close by is a portion of the dwelling to which it was probably attached, with a narrow winding stair-case on one of its sides. The blocks of the great edifice are exceedingly large; and these, as well as the materials of the smaller buildings and the fragments scattered around in every direction, are chiefly of the black porous stone, which abounds throughout the western shores of the lake. Some masses of coarse white marble are seen, however, in the centre of the large ruin; and some subterraneous work appears to have been constructed there of that substance. The whole has an air of great antiquity, both from its outward appearance and its almost complete destruction, but the style of the architecture is evidently Roman.

The name of Capharnaom, which is said to have been the one borne by this city anciently, is unquestionably meant for the Capernaum of the Scriptures.* That this was a place of some wealth

* Capernaum idem est quod vicus Naum, i. e. כפר נחום Capharnachum: Réland. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 682.

and consequence, may be inferred from the address to it by Christ, when he began to upbraid the cities, wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell!"* It was also seated on the shores of the lake of Tiberias: for, after the feeding of the five thousand on a mountain near that place, Jesus entered into a ship, and went over the sea toward Capernaum †; and the multitude having lost him, after his walking on the sea to overtake the boat in which his disciples were, they also took shipping and came to Capernaum seeking him. ‡ This, in name and position, corresponds with the Caphar Nahum of the present day. The other name of Tal-hewn may be thought to have some affinity with that of Dalmanutha, a name given in the Gospel, seemingly to Capernaum itself, or the country about it at least; as St. Mark, in his Gospel, after describing the feeding of the four thousand, says, "And straitway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha."§ As has been before remarked, it is a matter of some difficulty to fix on the site of many of the towns of this lake with any precision, more particularly Chorazin, Bethsaida, Gennesareth, and Capernaum. The city of Tiberias was unequivocally on the *west*, where the present town of Tabareeah stands; and we have the testimony of Pliny, that Julius || and Hippos were on the *east*, and Tarichæa on the *southern* shores of the lake ¶; so that the others were probably toward the *north*, and Capernaum or Dalmanutha, here at

* St. Matthew, xi. 20. to 23. and St. Luke x. 13. to 15.

† St. John, vi. 17.

‡ Ibid. vi. 24.

§ St. Mark, viii. 10.

|| From Josephus, it appears, that Bethsaida and Julius were the same; for he says, in recounting the works of Herod, "He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the Lake of Gennesareth, to the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julius, the same name with Cæsar's daughter." Ant. of the Jews, l. xviii. c. 2. s. 1.

¶ Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

the ruins called Caphar Nahoam and Tāl-hewn, which agrees with all the authorities for its position. *

While I was occupied in taking a hasty survey of these remains, and our guides were enjoying their noon-meal with the Bedouins settled amid these ruins, a small party of travellers arrived from the northward, and halted here for the same purpose as ourselves. On my return to the spot where they were all assembled, I found them warmly engaged in conversation on the news from Damascus, and the dangers of the road. These men, it appeared, were residents of Tiberias who had set out from their own homes two days before to go to Damascus, in order to make some purchases, for which they had taken a sufficient sum of money with them. They were originally six in number and all armed, and they had travelled in safety as far as the Bir-yusef. † During their halt there, however, they were attacked by a party of superior numbers, among whom, they said, were several soldiers; but, as they believed, no Bedouins. The result was, that they were stripped both of their money and arms, and some of those who were well-dressed, had their clothes taken from them, but no lives were lost, though two of the party who at first made resistance, were so severely beaten, that they were obliged to leave them behind on the road. These men conjured us by every thing sacred not to proceed any farther, but to return with them to Tiberias, as we were certain of being plundered at best, and perhaps murdered also, if we happened to fall into the hands of more sanguinary enemies.

I would have ventured on the journey still, from a sense of duty

* Capernaum ad mare Galilæum, Decapoleos urbs primaria opibus et splendore, præ cæteris illustris, ad dextram sita erat, in litore, secundo Jordane descendentibus, ubi is lacui se miscet. Ut vero Capernaum dextrum litus obsidebat, ita Chorazin tenebat lævum. Quæ urbes, quod ipse Servator iis prædixerat, hodie in ruinis jacent. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369. — Of the signification of the name, it is said, “ Quod Agrum Pœnitentiæ, vel Villum Consolationis, aut Propitiationem Pœnitentis denotat.”

† بئر يوسف, the Well of Joseph. This is so called from its being supposed to be the well in which Joseph was hidden by his brethren, when they sold him to the Ishmaelites, Gen. xxvii. And it is singular enough, that the word يوسف, Yusef, signifies in Arabic, groaning or complaining.

rather than inclination, if I could have found my way alone ; but that was difficult, and our guides refused to advance a step further for the present, so that no alternative remained but to return by the way we came. We accordingly quitted Tal-hewn about an hour after noon, and followed the western shore of the lake on our way back. Our conversation on the road was entirely on the affair which had thus arrested our progress, and our new companions certainly felt terrified beyond description at the accident that had befallen them.

No new observations occurred to me on the route of return, except that we observed several shoals of fish in the lake from the heights above, and storks and diving-birds in large flocks on the shore. As we re-entered Tiberias from the northward, we had a commanding view of the interior of the town, from the rising ground on which its north-west angle stands ; and though that interior presents nothing of grandeur or beauty, the Moorish appearance of the walls and circular towers that enclosed it, gave the whole an interesting air. In passing, I had an opportunity of noticing also, that the small village of Sumuk, on the site of the ancient Tarichæa, bears from Tiberias nearly south by compass, distant four or five miles, though it is not visible from the town itself, from the intervention of a point of land over which we now saw it ; and that a village on the opposite shore, called Ghearbi-el Summara bears S. E. by S. about the same distance.

As I had already experienced how far the hospitality of the Christian priest extended, I felt disposed to seek another shelter for the night, and accordingly the guide, who had brought us from Nazareth, offered to take me to the house of his brother, who was settled here as a baker, and with whom he himself had passed the preceding evening. I very gladly accepted his offer, and separating from our pillaged companions at the gate, we proceeded straight to his dwelling. This man being a communicant of the Catholic church, was one of the Abuna's flock ; and, whether from desire to contrast his behaviour with that of his pastor, which was already

known to him, or from the impulse of pure good-nature, the reception and treatment we met with at his porch were of the warmest and most hospitable kind. Our horses were fed, an excellent supper prepared, a party of friends collected, tales of humour and adventure related, our pipes filled from his own sack, and coffee served to us by his wife, unveiled and dressed in the most alluring manner. At every pause, the brother of our guide was reproached for not having brought us on the preceding evening to the house, and the only reply he made was, that he knew the Abuna to be more able, and naturally supposed that he would be equally willing, to entertain us.

We continued to sit together until a late hour, it being past midnight before the party of visitors had dispersed, and even after that, the Abuna and his son came, professedly to inquire the cause of our return, but, as it afterwards appeared, to beg that we would not make an evil report of them to the convent at Nazareth.

A good bed, with coverlid, cushions, &c. being prepared for me on a raised bench in the room, the rest of the party, consisting of the husband, his brother, the wife, and a male relation of hers, stretched themselves out side by side on mats on the floor, and we thus all slept as openly as a family of children.



CHAPTER XXVII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TIBERIAS.

FEBRUARY 14th. As it was now necessary that we should return to Nazareth to seek some more safe occasion of pursuing our journey, I rose early to make an excursion through the town before we set out, and visiting in the course of my rambles every part of it, was enabled, from what I saw, added to the information collected during my stay there on the two preceding evenings, to make the following observations.

The present town of Tabareeah *, as it is now called, is in the

* Spelt in Arabic, *تاباريع*, but in its original Greek form, *Τιβεριας*, to which this interpretation is given, “Bona visio, vel umbilicus, aut confractio.” Urbs

form of an irregular crescent, and is inclosed toward the land by a wall flanked with circular towers. It lies nearly north and south along the western edge of the lake, and has its eastern front opposed to the water, on the brink of which it stands, as some of the houses there are almost washed by the sea. Its southern wall approaches close to the beach; but the north-western angle of the northern wall, being seated on a rising ground, recedes some little distance from the water, and thus gives an irregular form to the inclosure. The whole does not appear a mile in circuit, and cannot contain more than five hundred separate dwellings, from the manner in which they are placed. There are two gates visible from without, one near the southern, and the other in the western wall, the latter of which is in one of the round towers, and is the only one now open; there are appearances also of the town having been surrounded by a ditch, but this is now filled up by cultivable soil.

To the northward of the town, is the road we passed over on our journey the day before; to the southward, the ruins of the ancient city, and a hot bath still frequented, as well as the burying-ground of the Mohammedans and the Jews; on the east, the broad expanse of the lake stretches over to the opposite shore; and on the west, it has a small space of plain fit for cultivation, from whence the land suddenly rises into the lofty hills which almost overhang the town.

The interior presents but few objects of interest, besides the ordinary habitations, which are, in general, small and mean. There is a mosque, with a dome and minareh, now frequented, and another with an octangular tower, in ruins. The former of these is not far from the gate of entrance, the latter is nearer to the beach. There are also two synagogues of the Jews near the centre

Galilææ ad mare sita, quod ab ipse civitate appellatur Mare Tiberiadis. Joh. vi. 1. Hanc civitatem olim Cenereth appellatam. Herodes tetrarcha in honorem Tiberii Cæsaris condidit, et Tiberiadem vocavit. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 315.

of the town, both of them inferior to that of Jerusalem, though similar in design; and one Christian place of worship called the "House of Peter," near the northern quarter, close to the water's edge. The last, which has been thought by some to be the oldest place of Christian worship now extant in Palestine*, is a vaulted room about thirty feet by fifteen, and perhaps fifteen in height; it stands nearly east and west, having its door of entrance at the western front, and its altar immediately opposite, in a shallow recess. Over the door is one small window, and on each side four others, all arched and open. The masonry of the edifice is of an ordinary kind; the pavement within is similar to that used for streets in this country, and the whole is devoid of sculpture or other ornament, as far as I could perceive. In a court without the House of Peter, I observed, however, a block of stone, on which were the figures of two goats, and two lions, or tigers, coarsely executed; but whether this ever belonged to the building itself, no one could inform me. During my visit to this church, morning mass was performing by the Abuna, at whose house we had lodged; the congregation consisted of only eleven persons, young and old, and the furniture and decorations of the altar and the priest were exceedingly scanty and poor.

This edifice is thought by the people here, to have been the very house which Peter inhabited at the time of his being called from his boat to follow Christ. It was evidently constructed, however, for a place of worship, and, probably, at a period much posterior to the time of the Apostle whose name it bears; though it might have been erected on the spot which tradition had marked as the site of his more humble habitation: from hence, they say too, it was, that the boat pushed off into the lake, when the miraculous draught of fishes was drawn.

Besides the public buildings already specified, are the house of the Aga, on the rising ground near the northern quarter of the

* Quarterly Reviewers on Dr. Clarke's Travels.

town ; a small, but good bazar, and two or three coffee-sheds. The ordinary dwellings of the inhabitants are such as are commonly seen in eastern villages, but are marked by a peculiarity which I witnessed here for the first time ; on the terrace of almost every house, stands a small square inclosure of reeds, loosely covered with leaves. These, I learnt, were resorted to by the heads of families to sleep in during the summer months, when the heat of the nights is intolerable, from the low situation of the town, and the unfrequency of cooling breezes. At the present moment, indeed, we had the thermometer at 82° in the shade, an hour after sun-rise, and calm ; while on the hills it was considerably less than at noon in the sun.

The whole population of Tabareeah does not exceed two thousand souls, according to the opinion of the best informed residents. Of these, about the half are Jews, many of whom are from Europe, particularly from Germany, Russia, and Poland *, and the rest are Mohammedans, exclusive of about twenty Christian families of the catholic communion. The military force here seldom exceeds twenty or thirty soldiers under the command of the Aga, and there are four old cannon mounted on different parts of the walls. Provisions are not abundant, and therefore are generally dear ; and fish, when occasionally taken by a line from the shore, are sold to the Aga, or to some of the rich Jews, at an exorbitant price.

The origin of this city under its Roman name, mounts no higher than the age of Herod ; and Josephus, in his Jewish Antiquities, touches thus slightly on its foundation. " Now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best

* In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, this place was in as great repute among the Jews as at present, and sepulture there was thought highly honourable. The hot baths of the neighbourhood were noticed by this traveller, and it would seem, from his account, that at that period there was a small salt lake called As Cloth Hapisga, lying between the lake of Gennesareth and the sea of Sodom, of which there are no traces at present. Bergeron's Collection.

part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth ; there are warm baths at a little distance from it in a village named Emmaus. * The part of Galilee in which it lies, as bordering the lake, possesses great advantages, though they are not now used to the extent that they were in the days of this city's foundation. The word Emmaus, which is the Greek pronunciation of the Hebrew word Hammah, is said to signify a warm bath, and may have some affinity with the Arabic Hamman, and with the appellation of Hamé, given to the bath and hot springs at the mouth of the Hieromax. † As such, it would be a name equally appropriated to all the numerous warm springs and ruined baths on the borders of this lake, and we know indeed that it was a name which, perhaps, from its applicability to local features, was given to many different places in Palestine. ‡

There is another circumstance mentioned by Josephus, which is worthy of notice. He says, that after having built this city in honour of Tiberius, Herod was obliged to use force in compelling people of condition to dwell in it, and to allure strangers and poor people thereto, by building them houses at his own expence, and giving them land also ; for he was sensible, says the historian, that to make this place a habitation, was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away in order to make room for the city Tiberias ; whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days. § From the first moment of my seeing the sepulchres on the rising ground to the northward of the present town, my impression was,

* Ant. Jud. b. xviii. c. 2. and 3.

† There was also a Beth-maas, probably one of the baths, only four furlongs from Tiberias. Life of Josephus, s. 12.

‡ The Hebrew names, Chama, Chamath, and Chamin; which the Greek and Vulgate write Emmaus, Amatha, Hamata, Amath, and Amathus, always signify such places as had these hot waters ; and of them we find several in Palestine, whose waters were famed for curing a variety of diseases, some by bathing, others by drinking. The superstitious Jews were such admirers of some of them, as to imagine that their virtue was miraculous, though Josephus owns it to be natural. Anc. Un. Hist. v. ii. b. i. c. 7. p. 434.

§ Ant. Jud. l. xviii. c. 2, s. 3.

as there mentioned, that they were of a very ancient kind, and, at least, of equal antiquity with the first foundation of the Herodian city itself. They were no doubt, therefore, a portion of the extensive burying-ground from which many sepulchres were to be taken away, in order to make room for the city, as Josephus here describes.

This was a city with which this historian must have been well acquainted, for in many of the most striking incidents of his life, as written by himself, Tiberias is mentioned as the scene, and the lake and its shores, was almost as much the theatre of the Jewish wars as any other part of Judea. In one place, he mentions his having himself taken the city four times.* By the persuasion of John of Gischala, whom he had given leave to make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of his health, the inhabitants were induced to revolt from their fidelity to Josephus; and he, after fruitless efforts to regain their good will, effected a narrow escape by ship to Tarichea.† The stratagem by which he afterwards got the whole of the senate of Tiberias into his power, and forced Clitus, the author of the sedition, to cut off one of his own hands, may be numbered amongst the most ingenious of the whole war, fertile as it was in contriving to deceive‡, and his commentator thinks it the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whatever.§

In the further details of this historian's active part in the events of these times, we gather that there was a *proseucha*, or open place of public prayer, *within* the city of Tiberias, though such *proseuchæ*, as his commentator observes, were usually *without* the cities, as the synagogues or houses of prayer were *within* them.¶ Of this, however, we could find no unequivocal traces within the modern town, or among the ruins to the southward of it, though

* Life of Josephus, s. 15.

† Ibid, s. 18.

‡ Ibid, s. 3. 33, 34.

§ Whiston's Notes. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 22. s. 10.

¶ Whiston's Notes on Josephus.

in each there were many open spaces that might have been conjectured to mark the place of it. In the account of the same affair, which is given more at large in his entertaining history, the place where Josephus harangued the people of Tiberias, who had revolted, is called the *stadium*; but of this it was as difficult to fix the place at present, as it was to discover that of the *proseucha*.

We learn from the details of the war, that Tarichea was within a night's march of Tiberias*, and that it was of consideration enough to possess a hippodromos.† Pliny fixes this city on the south of the lake‡; so that, under all these considerations, it probably stood near the present village of Sumuk; but we could obtain no account of that place, though so near to it, that would at all elucidate the question without our visiting the spot itself.§

The importance of Tiberias in the succeeding wars of the Saracens and Christians may be seen from the contests for its possession, described in the history of the Crusades; and after its frequent reductions and subsequent repairs, all that remains of it now may be considered as purely Mohammedan, at least all that is included within the modern walls; the sepulchres on the north, and the ruins on the south, being unquestionably of an earlier date.

After our ramble through the town, we set out on an excursion to the hot baths to the southward of it, our host promising to procure for us, if possible, during our absence, a dish of fish from the lake, on condition that we would turn in on our way back and partake of it, to which we assented. Leaving the town at the western gate, we pursued our course southerly along its wall, and came in half an hour to an old dome-topped building, called Setty Skené. We were about to enter into the outer court:

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. ii. c. 21. s. 6.

† Ibid. b. ii. c. 21. s. 3.

‡ Pliny Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 15.

§ Tiberiada et Tarichæas, distare stadiis 30. Reland, lib. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 1038.

of this, where we saw an Arabic inscription on a tablet in the wall; but some Moslems, who were employed in interring a corpse on a high burying-ground near, perceiving that our guide was a Nazarene, hailed us aloud to let no Christian enter these hallowed precincts. We accordingly gave them an evasive answer, and passed on; learning, however, from this incident, that the place was even now revered, and was probably the tomb of some sheikh or saint of the Mohammedan faith.

From hence, pursuing our course still southerly, we came to some scattered ruins of the old city of Tiberias, among which we observed many foundations of buildings, some fragments of others still standing, and both grey and red granite columns, some portions of the latter being at least four feet in diameter; but among the whole we saw neither ornamented capitals nor sculptured stones of any kind, though the city is known to have been a considerable one.*

In our way, we passed an old tree standing amid these ruins, and observed its branches to be hung with rags of every hue and colour, no doubt the offerings of those who either expected or had received benefit from the springs in the road to which it lay. Throughout the cliffs of the overhanging mountain; on the west, are rude grottoes at different heights; and opposite to the tree are two arched caves, one of them having a square door of entrance beneath the arch, and both of them being apparently executed with care. We had not time to examine them, though we conceived them to have been, most probably, ancient sepulchres.

In less than an hour after our leaving the town, we arrived at the baths. The present building, erected over the springs here, is small and mean, and is altogether the work of Mohammedans.

* Tiberias metropolis et terminus Decapoleos regionis, urbiumque ejus maxima, nomen ab Imp. Rom. Tiberio traxit; et ab ipsa vicinum mare Tiberiadis. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

It is within a few yards of the edge of the lake, and contains a bath for males and a bath for females, each with their separate apartment annexed. Over the door of the former is an Arabic inscription; ascending to this door by a few steps, it leads to an outer room, with an open window, a hearth for preparing coffee, and a small closet for the use of the attendant. Within this is the bath itself, a square room of about eighteen or twenty feet, covered with a low dome, and having benches in recesses on each side. The cistern for containing the hot water is in the centre of this room, and is sunk below the pavement; it is a square of eight or nine feet only, and the spring rises to supply it through a small head of some animal; but this is so badly executed, that it is difficult to decide for what it was intended. My thermometer rose here instantly to 130° , which was its utmost limit; but the heat of the water was certainly greater. It was painful to the hand as it issued from the spout, and could only be borne gradually by those who bathed in the cistern.

There is here only an old man and a little boy to hold the horses and make coffee for the visitors; and those who bathe strip in the inner room and wash themselves in the cistern, without being furnished with cloths, carpets, cushions, or any of the usual comforts of a Turkish bath. The whole establishment, indeed, is of the poorest kind, and the sight of the interior is rather disgusting than inviting.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in his brief description of Palestine, after remarking the number of fine cities it contains, and observing that the whole region did not possess a navigable river, mentions, however, that there were a number of places within it which were celebrated for their natural hot springs, whose waters were considered favourable to the cure of many maladies, and of which this of Tiberias was then probably one of the most celebrated.*

At this bath, we met with a soldier whom they called Mo-

* Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 8.

ammed Mamlouk, and I learnt that he was a German by birth, having become a Mamlouk and Mohammedan when a boy. He was now the hasnadar or treasurer to the Agha of Tabareeah, and was so completely a Turk as to profess that he would not willingly return to his native country, even if he could do so under the most favourable circumstances. He spoke the Turkish and Arabic languages equally well; and it was in the latter that we conversed, as he had entirely forgotten his native tongue, though not more than thirty-five years of age.

Besides the spring which supplies the present baths, there are several others near it, all rising close to the edge of the lake, and all equally hot, finely transparent and slightly sulphureous, resembling exactly the spring at El-Hamé. There are also extensive ruins around, which are most probably the remains of Roman edifices, though that which has been taken for the remains of a theatre appears rather to have been the choir of an early Christian church. Among them all, there is nothing, however, either interesting or definite. We quitted this spot to return to the town, and in our way by the bath saw a party of Jewish women just coming out from the female apartment. Their conversation was in German; and, on enquiry, they said that they had come from Vienna with their husbands, to end their days in the land of their fathers. In our way back from hence we were met by a party of Moslems, who conceiving me, from my dress and white turban, to be of their faith, gave us the usual salute, which I returned without scruple; but our guide was so shocked at the interchange of forbidden salutations between a Christian and a Mohammedan, that he expressed his confidence in its ending in some unlucky accident to us. To avert this, however, from his own head, he took a large stone from the road, and after spitting on it, turned that part toward the north, repeating a short Arabic prayer at the same time. Besides the present incident, I had observed on several other occasions that, in this country, set forms of expressions are regarded as appropriate to men of different faiths, and even

different ranks in life, and that therefore nothing is more necessary for a traveller than to acquaint himself with those minute shades of difference; as they serve, like the watch-word of an army, to distinguish friends from foes, and any errors therein might produce the most alarming consequences.

Our route of return was along the beach of the lake, leaving the tree of relics and Setty Skené on our left. Vestiges of ancient buildings still continued to be seen, close to the water's edge; but, nothing of architectural beauty or of grandeur presented itself to our notice.

On our way we met a Jewish funeral, attended by a party of about fifty persons, all males. A group of half a dozen walked before, but without any apparent regard to order, and all seemed engaged in humming indistinctly hymns, or prayers, or lamentations; for they might have been either, as far as we could distinguish by the tone and the manner of their utterance. The corpse followed, wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on cords between two poles borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost. A funeral service was said over it at the grave, and it was sunk into its mother earth in peace.

On our return to the town, we found an early dinner of fish prepared for us, and thought it excellent; a person had been employed all the morning with his line expressly for the purpose of procuring them, and we very gladly rewarded his industry by a suitable present. We were joined at our meal by a man from Is-pahan, who had been settled here for some time as a merchant, and as he understood a little Hindoostanee, having been in several parts of India, we conversed together in that language, which to me was a very unexpected event in a town of Palestine.

It was past noon when we quitted Tabareeah, and in our way through the streets toward the gate, we met a Frank doctor in his European dress, who had come from Acre to bleed a rich Jew. The figure and costume of the man was in itself highly ridiculous, and this effect was increased by his being so intoxicated at this

early hour of the day, that he reeled from side to side, in constant danger of falling off his horse. Besides a musket, a sword, and a powder-pouch, he wore, slung around his neck, a small canteen for spirits, which accounted for the state in which we saw him. In his way through the town, he was followed by a crowd of children, and laughed at by the women and the men ; so that the Frank character was likely to gain nothing by such a disreputable exhibition.

For our return to Nazareth, we took a shorter route than that by which we came, according to the advice of our guide, though the distance seemed to me at least equal. Ascending the hill to the northwest, we passed several flocks of ghazelles, from six to eight in number in each of them, and after reaching the summit of the mountains there, enjoyed again a commanding view of the lake below. We found the heat, even here, oppressive, though it was tempered by a light air from the north-west. The surface of the water was still, however, like a mirror, and a dead calm reigned in the hollow basin beneath us. The lofty summit of Libanus, covered with an unbroken sheet of snow, was still a conspicuous object in the picture, and is seen, indeed, from almost every point of view below, excepting only near the northern edge of the lake. From this edge a series of hills rise one over the other, until the highest point of the third or fourth range, forms the foundation of the base of the Gebel-el-Thelj ; and, from observations which I had an opportunity of making, when seeing the summit of that mountain from the water-line of the sea's level, I should conceive it to be at least from ten to twelve thousand feet in elevation above that point, though perhaps not even half that height from its own base.

About two hours after our leaving Tabareeah, we passed a rocky spot, with heaps of stones scattered around, called " Khamši Khabshaat," or the place of the " five loaves," from a belief that the five thousand were here fed with five loaves and two small fishes. *

* St. Mark, vi. 38.

By all the Evangelists, the scene of this miracle is said to have been a *desert place*, and by all of them it is stated that there was *much grass* there, on which the people were made to sit down in companies and in ranks. As Jesus is also represented by all of them to have departed by *ship* into this desert place, it seems probable that it was on the *east* of the lake. St. Luke, indeed, calls it a desert place, belonging to the city of Bethsaida*, whose site is given by Pliny, under the name of Julias, on the *east*. † St. John, after describing the works of Jesus at the pool of Bethesda at Jerusalem, and his discourse with the Jews in the temple there, says, “After these things, Jesus went *over* the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias;” an expression which could only imply his passing from this to the opposite shore on the *east*. And in describing the *return* of the boat back again, *after* the people had been fed, St. Matthew says, “And when they were gone *over*, they came into the land of Gennesaret §;” which land of Gennesaret we distinctly know to have been on the *west*. St. Mark says, after describing the miraculous feeding, and the gathering up of the fragments, “And straightway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and go to the *other side*, before unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people ||;” but adds “And when they had passed *over*, (on their return back,) they came unto the land of Gennesaret, and drew to the shore.” ¶ St. Luke mentions nothing of the *return*; but St. John says, “And when the *even* was now come, his disciples went down unto the sea, and entered into a ship, and went *over the sea*, toward Capernaum.” **

From most of these testimonies it would appear, therefore, that the scene of the feeding was on the *east* side of the sea, seeing that Gennesaret and Capernaum were on the *west* and the *north*. This supposition is strengthened by the following part of St. John's narration, who describes the wonder of the people at finding Jesus

* St. Luke, ix. 10.

† St. John, vi. 1.

¶ St. Mark, vi. 53.

† Pliny. Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 15.

§ St. Matt. xiv. 34.

** St. John, v. 16, 17.

|| St. Mark, vi. 45.

on the *other side* of the sea, believing him not to have entered into the *boat* with his disciples; since, if Genneſaret and the point from which they departed were on the *same* side of the sea, the passage from one to the other would have been as easy by *land* as by *water*, and would have excited no surprise. Besides this, it is said, “Howbeit, there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks.”* Now the place here fixed on by tradition, and bearing the name of Khamsi Khabshaat, is nearer to Tiberias than to any other part of the sea, being nearly two hours from the edge of the lake in a westerly direction, and on the top of a high and rocky hill; so that it does not correspond with the local features of the place described in any one particular, and may be cited as another proof of the bungling ignorance of those blind guides, who so proudly call themselves the guardians of the holy places.†

From Khamsi Khabshaat we arrived, in about half an hour, opposite to Lööbee, a considerable village, seated on the top of a high hill. We passed beneath it in the beaten track, leaving the village itself about a quarter of a mile on our left. It now grew

* St. John, vi. 23.

† I remember the anger which Chateaubriand expresses against those who dare to examine for a moment into the evidence on which such traditionary localities as these rest, and the implicit confidence with which he would have every one to believe all that might be told him by his spiritual superiors. He asks, “What would be thought of the man who should travel over Italy and Greece, and criticise Homer and Virgil at every step?” I should answer, “He would be thought a tasteless and fastidious pedant.”—“Yet,” says he, “it is thus that travellers go over the Holy Land, which, if only to be examined for such a purpose, is not worth the coming so far to see.” But M. Chateaubriand will surely admit that there is a wide difference between the licence universally allowed in a mere poem, and the accuracy required in the Word of God and in those who call themselves the expounders of these writings, and the guardians of the scenes of his Son’s miracles. We take up the Iliad and the Æneid as works of taste and genius, and read them as much for amusement as instruction. We take up the Bible as a work which we are taught to consider infallible, and whose contents must be believed; so that we examine all that can tend to its illustration, with more than ordinary rigour. As we know that truth must always gain by investigation, and shine forth with increased brightness, when the dark clouds of error with which human weakness has obscured it are in any degree removed.

dark, and the rest of our way was indistinct. We passed, however, several smaller villages, on our right ; and, just as the moon rose, we entered Kusr Kelna, the *Cana of Galilee*, where water was turned to wine at a marriage feast * ; and which was, at one time, the abode of Josephus, the historian †, and, at another, the headquarters of Vespasian's army. ‡ We halted here for a moment to refresh, and await the higher rising of the moon to light us on our way ; and in half an hour set forward again, going by El Misshed, and Arreyna, over hilly and rugged ground. It was about ten o'clock when we entered Nazareth ; but the doors of the convent were readily opened to us, and we were kindly received.

* St. John, ch. ii. throughout.

† Life of Josephus, s. 17. v. 1. p. 14.

‡ Wars of the Jews.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

BY THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON TO JENEEN AND SANHOOD.

FEBRUARY 15th. The whole of the day was directed to enquiries about the best method of proceeding on my journey to the northward, when I learned that a caravan, with a large escort, would be departing from Nablous for Damascus on Saturday ; and it was recommended to me to hasten thither, in order to join it, as the most secure mode of prosecuting my way. It was late at night when we learned this, but as there was still a hope of my being able to reach Nablous in time, I determined to set out on the following day.

The road even from hence to Nablous was thought to be so bad, that few people would attempt it without a caravan. By great exertion we procured, however, a man of that town, who was settled here, to accompany us thus far for fifteen piastres; and obtaining from Mr. Catafago a letter to his friend Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, the Chief of Sanhour, we left Nazareth about ten o'clock on our way thither.

Our course was directed to the southward, going in which direction for about half an hour, we began to descend the steep range of hills by which Nazareth is bounded on the south. Dismounting here, we reached the foot of it in another half-hour, and came out on the Plain of Esdraelon, very near to the ravine on the west side of which is the mountain of the precipitation, before described. At the foot of this hill were now some Bedouins' tents, and a few flocks grazing, but the soil and its produce was so burnt up by the long drought, that every species of animal suffered the want of food.

Continuing in a southerly direction across the plain, we reached at noon the small village of Mezra. This, from its being enclosed by walls with loop-holes in them, and having only one gate of entrance, appears to have been once a fortified post, though of the weakest kind. It is at present destitute of any other inhabitants than the herds of cattle which are driven within the enclosure for shelter during the night. Near its southern angle are two good wells which are still frequented, and we observed here several sarcophagi of a grey stone, of the common oblong form, extremely thick, and rather larger than the ordinary size. Though all of these were much broken and defaced by the action of the atmosphere, the sculpture on the side of one was still distinct, representing pillars, festoons, and wheels.

Continuing over the plain in the same direction, we passed at one o'clock, under the village of Fooli, leaving it a little on our left. We observed here the fragment of a large building still remaining, whose wall seemed to be of Saracenic structure, and at

the wells without the village we saw two pent-roofed covers of sarcophagi; one of which was ornamented with sculpture, the raised corners being the same as those at Geraza, and at Gamala, except that here the edges of them were sculptured, and that all the covers at the two former cities, as far as we observed, were plain.

On the west of this village, about a mile, is Affouli, built like this on a rising ground, and containing only a few dwellings. On the east of it, about two miles, is the larger village of Noori, surrounded with olive-trees, and there are besides several other settlements in sight from hence, all inhabited by Mohammedans.

We now kept, in a south-easterly direction, having shut in Mount Tabor, and passed Mount Hermon, which we kept on our left, and at three o'clock we reached the village of Zараheen. This is larger than either of the former, and is peopled also by Mohammedans. It is seated on the brow of a stony hill, facing to the north-east, and overlooking a valley into which the plain of Esdrælon seems to descend; and through the openings of which the mountains on the east of the Jordan are visible. It has a high modern building in the centre, like that at Shufammer, and perhaps about fifty dwellings around it. We saw here also several sarcophagi, both plain and sculptured, corresponding in size, form, and material, to those seen before.

To the east of this place, in a vale, is another village, and a smaller one is seen in the same direction on the peaked top of a high hill. Of these our guide knew not even the names; but all of them, he said, were peopled by Moslems.

At four o'clock we came to a ridge of stony ground, interrupting the general line of the plain, and passed another deserted village, called Makhaebly, leaving it on our right. It has a ruined mosque in its centre, and a white-washed tomb of some saint a little to the left of it. From hence we continued again in a southerly direction; over uneven, and generally stony ground, until at five we came in sight of Jeneen.

The approach to this town from the northward is interesting, as

it is seated at the southern edge of a small but fine plain, cut off from that of Esdraelon only by the stony ridge of low land just passed over. Behind it is a low range of grey hills, and in front some woods of olives give great relief to the picture. The minareh and dome of a mosque are seen rising above a mass of flat-roofed dwellings, and from the gallery of the former the call to evening-prayers was heard as we entered the town. It does not appear to possess more than a hundred habitations in all, but it is furnished with a bazar and several coffee-sheds. The ruins of a large Gothic building are seen in the centre of the town near the mosque, and around it are several palm-trees, which, from their rarity here, struck me as more beautiful than I had ever thought them before.

Jeneen is governed by a Sheikh, who is tributary both to Acre and Damascus, as it is considered to be the frontier town between these two pashalics. It has, however, no military stationed there, and its inhabitants are all Mohammedans. Without the town, to the northward, are several saints' tombs, and in the hills to the southward are many rude grottoes. The range of hills, at the northern foot of which the town of Jeneen is seated, may be considered as the southern boundary of the great plain of Esdraelon; and as the limit between Galilee and Samaria; for between it and the range on which Nazareth stands, there are only a few interruptions of rising ground here and there, without any marked boundary. The whole of this extensive space is covered with a fine red soil, and had once several considerable settlements on it, as may be inferred from the sepulchres and sarcophagi at Eksall, at Mezra, at Fooli, and at Makhaebly, all seated on small eminences admirably suited for the situation of agricultural towns. It is now, however, lying waste, excepting only a few patches ploughed for cultivation towards its southern edge.

Jeneen, or Genin, is no doubt the Ginea* of some writers, and

* *Givata*. Vicus qui Samaritin a septentrione terminat, in campo situs. — Vide et vocem Geman. Illic loci situs est hodieque vicus Zjennin, vel ut alii scribunt Jennin,

the Geman * of Josephus, as he calls it, a village situate in the great plain of Samaria, it being the boundary between that province and Galilee; and he describes a fight, which happened there between some Galilean Jews, who were going up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles, and the Samaritans of Geman who opposed them. †

We passed on through Jeneen without halting, going by a narrow pass between stony hills to the south of the town. As the sun was now set, and the sky overcast, it grew too dark to observe any thing of the road beyond, except that it was rugged and bad. In about two hours after quitting Jeneen, we reached the village of Cabaat, where our entrance was so opposed by the dogs, that we were almost stunned with their barking. Some of the Mohammedan villagers seeing us journeying on our way at so late an hour, brought us bread and water while on horseback, without even being solicited to do so, and when we halted to accept it, both compliments and blessings were mutually interchanged.

Our road now improved, and about ten o'clock we reached the foot of a steep hill, on which the walled town of Sanhoor is built. We alighted and walked up to the gate, demanding admission for an English traveller on his way to Nablous, who brought a letter from Catafago at Nazareth, and sought protection from Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, the chief of the place. The terms of our demand were immediately communicated to the venerable pilgrim, and in a few minutes the gates were opened to us, and we were saluted and welcomed as strangers but yet as friends.

On being conducted to the chief, we found him sitting on a stone-bench in the court of his house, and surrounded by a circle of dependants, who seemed to think themselves honoured by being

dictus, et transeunt illum qui Ptolemaide Samaritam, atque ita Hierosolymas, tendunt. Reland. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 812.

* Γημαν. Vicus situs in magno campo Samaritidis. Ibid. p. 803.

† Joseph. Jewish Wars, b. ii. c. 12. s. 3.

admitted, like Mordecai of old, to sit at the king's gate. All rose at our entrance, a carpet and cushions were placed for me on the right hand of the master; our horses were fed, a supper provided, and every mark of hospitality and attention shown to us.

In the ardour of conversation with this seemingly estimable man, I had quite forgotten to deliver my letter to him, until our supper was finished, and he had presented me with his own Nargeel. * As soon as he received it, a young scribe was sent for, who read the contents of the epistle aloud, and all listened and applauded, for it was full of the most extravagant encomiums. It was gratifying to me, however, to consider, that such false representations of wisdom, talents, honour, and wealth, had no share in obtaining for me the kind reception given to our party; and happily, as the utmost had already been done, even such a letter could not draw more from our benevolent host.

Our conversation of the evening was chiefly on the state of Europe, on the countries I had visited, and those I hoped to see. As the chief had been himself twice at Mecca, making the journey from Damascus, I learned from him also some interesting particulars on that route, and we talked a great deal of those parts of Arabia which we had both seen, namely the ports of the Hedjaz. An excellent bed was prepared for me in a separate room, with clean sheets, and cushions covered with silk, and every arrangement was made for my comfort that I could possibly desire.

Among the party assembled around the fire in the court, (for the evening was bleak and cold,) was an old amateur of muskets and pistols, called Sheikh Ibrahim, who asked me a thousand questions about the names of the celebrated makers in the different capitals of Europe, and brought me at least twenty different pieces to examine. His passion for arms was so strong, that he had brought up his son as a gun-smith, though he himself had been

* *بار جیل*, the Persian name for a cocoa-nut, which, as that fruit is not a production of Arabia but of India, is adopted by the Arabs, and in this case applied to an apparatus for smoking, the body of which is made of a cocoa-nut shell.

self-taught, and among some locks that were shown to me as the work of the son, in imitation of English ones, with the name of Wilson upon them, there were several that would not have disgraced an European artist. When we talked of the perfection to which this manufactory was brought in England, and the improved methods used in the working of metals there, as far as I was, myself imperfectly acquainted with them, the old man swore by his beard, that if I would take him to that country, only for a few months, that he might witness these wonders, as he called them, he would serve me in the capacity of servant, or soldier, or groom, or any thing in short that I might command, during the whole of the way.

We continued up until past midnight, with scarcely an interval of silence; and every thing that I saw of the venerable pilgrim-chief, during that time, impressed me with an idea of benevolence, meekness, and goodness of heart, superior to any thing that I had ever yet witnessed in Turk or Arab. To increase the obligation under which he had already laid us to his kindness, he insisted upon our being accompanied, from hence to Nablous, by one of his own horsemen, who would be answerable for our security, as the road, he said, was perfectly impassable without some protection of that kind. This was, therefore, ordered, and bidding this excellent old man adieu, as we intended to depart at sunrise, we all retired to repose.

17th. We were stirring with the dawn, but early as the hour was, we were not suffered to depart without our morning cup of coffee, and a supply of provision for the way.

Our route lay to the southward, in which direction we went for about an hour, in a narrow valley, with stony hills on both sides, when at eight o'clock we reached a large village, called Jabbaugh. This is seated on a hill; and surrounded by valleys filled with olive-trees. Several marks of superior industry began to appear in the cultivation of the soil; and the face of the country, though more rugged, was far more fertile than before.

After quitting this village, the road was very hilly; but instead of the parched brown of the plains below, we were gratified by the sight of young corn and verdant spots, even to the mountain top. Small villages were seen on eminences around us in every direction, and the whole scene bore an appearance of active industry. This striking difference between the state of the hill-country and the plain, is to be sought for, perhaps, rather in the character of the inhabitants of these separate districts, than in the influence of its respective governments, as imagined by some travellers.* The tyranny of Djezzaf no longer remains to check the efforts of industry through his fine territory; but, on the contrary, Suliman, the present Pasha of Acre, bears universally a higher character for benevolence, equity, and liberal government, than any of those who have lately held the pashalic of Damascus in their hands.

The country known by the name of Samaria, joined to Galilee on the north, and to Judea on the south; and commencing at Ginea, Ginnan, or Gennin, at the termination of the great plain of Esdraelon, extended as far as the toparchy of Acrabatena, towards Jerusalem. The description given of the fate of the country, its soil, and productions, as resembling that of Judea, is so far true, that both are composed of abrupt and rugged hills, and differ essentially from the plains of Galilee. But while in Judea the hills are mostly as bare as the imagination could paint them, and a few of the narrow valleys only are fertile; in Samaria, the very summits of the eminences are as well clothed as the sides of them. These, with the luxuriant valleys which they enclose, present scenes of unbroken verdure in almost every point of view, which are delightfully variegated by the picturesque forms of the hills and vales themselves, enriched by the occasional sight of wood and water, in clusters of olive and other trees, and rills and torrents running among them.

At nine o'clock, continuing still over hilly ground, we reached

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 15. p. 503.

the village of Beit-Emireen *, which contains about forty dwellings. It is seated on a rising ground, on a chalky soil, and surrounded by valleys thickly wooded with olive-trees.

At ten we were nearly opposite to Subussta, having it on our right; and as it formed a convenient spot to refresh at, we turned out of the common path about a furlong to make our halt there. A circular ruin, appearing to be the eastern end of an old Christian church, made a picturesque appearance as it rose on the brow of the hill; and beyond it, towards the summit, several columns of some more ancient buildings, were still erect. In entering Subussta, we saw in the road an old stone sarcophagus, and not far from it a pent-roofed cover, both at the foot of the hill on which the present village stands. This village consists only of about thirty dwellings, all extremely humble, and the place is governed by its own sheikh, who is himself a husbandman. It is seated on a stony hill, but is surrounded by fruitful valleys and abundance of olive-trees, and occupies a commanding, as well as a pleasant situation.

The city of Samaria was the capital of the country included under that name, and stood pretty nearly in the centre of it. Its first foundation is ascribed to Omri, who, after the death of his rival, Tibni, was acknowledged by the people of Israel as their king, in the thirty-first year of Asa king of Judah. “And he bought the hill Samaria, of Shemer, for two talents of silver †, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, *Samaria*.” ‡

After an evil reign, Omri was himself buried there; and his son, Ahab, who succeeded him, set up an altar, with a house or temple which he had erected to Baal the god of the Sidonians, in the city of his father. § The name of the country, however, seems to have

* بيت اميرين the house of the two princes.

† Equal to 684*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* sterling

‡ 1 Kings, xvi. 24.

§ 1 Kings, xvi. 28—32.

been established before ; as in a preceding part of the same chronicles, the cities of Samaria, and all the houses of the high-places within them, are spoken of. Some, indeed, have thought this said of the city of Omri in anticipation, by a *prolepsis* ; but when the country retained always the name of Samaria, as well as this city standing on the hill of Shemer, it is easy to conceive the preceding passage as applying to the high places of idolatrous worship which existed previous to the building of the city, in the towns of Samaria generally.

It was during the reign of Ahab, the son of Omri, that this city was besieged by Ben-hadad, the king of Syria, who led with him all his host, and carried thirty and two kings with him from beyond Euphrates*, in his train. The insolence of his message, and the servility of the answer returned to it by Ahab, could scarcely be justified in either, even by the presence of such an overpowering force ; but the effects of such submission were, as they always are with tyrants, to heighten arrogance. Not content with being allowed to say, "Thy silver and thy gold is mine, thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest, are mine," he desired that the lowest of his servants should lay their hands on whatever was pleasant in their eyes. The infuriate and boasting vow which followed the refusal is quite in the spirit of eastern bombast : "And Ben-hadad sent unto him and said, the gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me." While the sarcastic defiance which such a proud message extorted, even from the wavering Ahab, is equally characteristic of the concise sententiousness that as often marked the sayings of the times. "And the king of Israel answered and said, Tell him, Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." The result proved the difference between these contrasted moments, and showed that

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 8. c. 14. s. 1.

a confidence of victory is not always followed by the attainment of it. *

The people having attributed the victory of the Israelites to their gods, as gods of the hills, advised their leader to draw them into the plain; and instead of the useless kings, to put as many captains in their place. He listened to their voice, and numbered again an army like the army he had lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot. It was at the return of the year that he went up a second time with this formidable host against Samaria, where, as it is emphatically said, "The children of Israel pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, while the Syrians filled the country." The battle was as fatal to their leader as before; a hundred thousand of his footmen were slain in one day; and of those that fled away to Aphek, a wall fell and destroyed twenty-seven thousand of them. †

The proud Bën-hadad, who had boasted that all Samaria would not afford sufficient earth to yield a handful to each of his followers, was reduced to sue for mercy, in sackcloth and ashes, and bound with ropes about his head as a captive; so that he must then have found the difference between the boast at girding on his harness, and that at putting it off. By this act of humiliation he obtained, however, not only pardon, but the honour of riding in the same chariot with the king himself.

A covenant of peace was concluded, in which Bën-hadad said unto Ahab, "The cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore; and thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria." The learned are divided as to whether these were streets, or palaces, or market-places, which were thus to be permitted to the king of Samaria to build in Damascus; but all are agreed that it was a privilege which marked the subjection of Ben-hadad to Ahab. ‡

Like more modern treaties of eternal friendship and alliance,

* See 1 Kings throughout, and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 14.

† 1 Kings, xx.

‡ Anc. Un. Hist. vol. ii. p. 306. 8vo.

this covenant of peace was soon broken, and in a terrible battle that was fought for the recovery of Ramoth Giléad from the Syrians, Ahab, though he had disguised himself to avoid death, was slain by an arrow from a bow drawn at a venture. His body was brought, however, to Samaria, to be laid in the sepulchre of Omri, his father, the founder of the city; and in a reference to the acts of his life, the *other* cities which he built, and the ivory house which he made, (probably in this his capital of Samaria itself,) are numbered among the works recorded of him in the books of the chronicles of the kings of Israel. *

The third time of this Ben-hadad, the Syrian king, opposing himself to Samaria, was on the occasion of Joram shutting himself up therein, and depending on the strength of its walls. "But Ben-hadad," says the Jewish historian, "supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine and the want of necessaries, and so he brought his army upon them, and besieged the city."† The result indeed was as had been anticipated; for the Scriptures say: "And there was a great famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung ‡ for five pieces of silver." The incident related afterwards, still heightens the picture of the distress to which this siege must have reduced them: "And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor, or out of the winepress? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him, and I

* 1 Kings, xxii. 39.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 4. s. 4.

‡ Josephus says, that this dove's dung was used as a substitute for salt. — Ant. Jud. l. 9: c. 4. s. 4.

said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him : and she hath hid her son." *

In the reign of Hoshea, one of the subsequent kings of Samaria, and when Ahaz was king of Judah, Shalmanezar, the Assyrian monarch to whom Hoshea was tributary, came up against Samaria to punish him for having sent messengers to the king of Egypt, and for having failed in making the yearly presents which he had formerly done. The Scriptures, in relating this event, briefly say, "Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." † It is added, "And the King of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." Josephus confirms this account of the carrying away the ten tribes of Israel into captivity by Shalmanezar, and adds also, that "when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites." ‡

The utter ruin of the power of Samaria in this captivity of her people, seems to be alluded to by the Prophet Hosea, when he says, "as for Samaria, her king is cut off as the foam upon the water." § It is thought by some, that the city was then reduced to a heap of stones, and Micah is referred to as saying so; but though this was the threat made against it by the word which came to the Prophet in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Ezekiah,

* 2 Kings, vi. 26—29. Josephus also quotes Nicolaus of Damascus, who, in his History of Hadad, mentions this laying waste of Samaria. Ant. l. 7. c. 5. s. 2.

† 2 Kings, xvii. 5, 6.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 1.

§ Hosea, x. 7.

kings of Judah, or about the period of these sieges, its desolation is not mentioned as being made so complete as to "become as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard," by *this* conquest of it, though it was by a much *later* one. The Scriptures expressly say, that, after the carrying away captive the children of Israël into Assyria, the men that were brought from the countries of the East before enumerated to supply their places, "possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." † Josephus calls them all Cuthæans; "because," says he, "they were brought out of the country called Cutha, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it; and that is the name," he adds, "by which they have been called to this time, though he acknowledges in the same place, that they were composed of five different ‡ nations." He confirms, however, the fact of their supplying the place of the Israelites led away into captivity, and of their dwelling in Samaria, and following the idolatrous worship of their former gods, though Israelitish priests had been sent back from among the captives in Assyria to teach them the knowledge of the true God. §

In the time of Ezra, or subsequent to the return of the Israelites from their captivity, these foreigners were still dwelling there; these are they who are enumerated as the Dinaites, the Afharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over and set in the cities of Samaria. These are they who wrote the letter to Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, telling him, that the Jews whom he had set free from their captivity, had already gone up to Jerusalem, and were rebuilding the walls of this rebellious and bad city; they advised the king to search the book of records

* Micah, i. 6.

† 2 Kings, xvii. 24.

‡ See an able dissertation on the geographical positions of the towns to which these captives were carried, and the nations who replaced them, in Major Rennell's Illustrations of the geography of Herodotus.

§ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.; and 2 Kings, xvii. 24. to 31.

of his father, wherein he would find that this was a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they had moved sedition within the same of old time, for which cause the city was destroyed; and after telling the king Artaxerxes it was because they still had their maintenance from his palace, that they could not see him thus dishonoured, they assure him that if this city were to be rebuilt, and the walls thereof set up again, he would not only be deprived of the toll, tribute, and custom, which this country now brought to his revenue, but that he would by this means, soon have no portion on this side the river, or west of the Euphrates. The records were searched, the proofs of insurrection, rebellion, and sedition, were found, and the order of Artaxerxes put a stop to the building.*

Until this period, therefore, it was inhabited by this mixed race, and in the time of Amos, they are characterized as a luxurious people, by a figure that will be well understood by those who are conversant with the manners of the East. "Thus saith the Lord, As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria *in the corner of a bed*, and in Damascus *in a couch*; and I will smite the winter-house, with the summer-house, and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord."† Nothing could be more indicative of wealth and luxurious manners than these splendid mansions, suited to the different seasons, and the manner of their reposing in them; and as such a state is too generally acquired by laying heavy burdens on those who find them grievous to be borne, they are most appropriately addressed in the opening of the next chapter. "Hear the word, ye *kine of Bashan* ‡, that

* Ezra, iv. 7—24.

† Amos, iii. 12. 15.

‡ One must have seen the luxuriant pastures among the hills and valleys of Gilead, on the other side of Jordan, to feel the full force of this expression, and to understand what is meant in other places by "the fat bulls of Bashan," who rioted at large in all the abundance which the most fertile lands could bestow.

are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring and let us drink."

When Alexander the Great was occupied in the siege of Tyre, it is said, that all the cities of that part of Syria called Palestine, were surrendered peaceably into his hands, excepting Gaza.* On quitting Syria for Egypt, the Macedonian king left Andromachus in the government of the country; but during his visit to the Temple of Jupiter Hammon in Libya, or, as others have it, after the taking of Tyre and Gaza, these Samaritans, from their constant enmity to the Jews and jealousy of the superior privileges granted to them by Alexander, put Andromachus to a cruel death.†

The news reaching Alexander in Egypt, of the Samaritans having burnt Andromachus alive, he hastened to avenge this barbarous act upon so perfidious a race.‡ These were, indeed, either all executed, or swept away; and such of them as escaped, established themselves in Shechem as their capital, while Alexander banished even those Samaritans who had served in his army ever since the siege of Tyre, as far as into the Thebais, or Upper Egypt, to guard that country.§

Samaria was now peopled by a new race, though still foreigners; and while the remains of the mixed nations that had supplied the place of the Israelites from the east were dispersed thus abroad, their successors were an almost equally mixed people from the west, composed of Macedonians, and others who served in the

* Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. ii. c. 25.

† Andromachum his regionibus præposuit, quem Samaritani, perpetui Judæorum hostes, paulo post atrociter necaverunt. Freinsheimii Supp. in Quint. Curt. l. ii. c. 11.

‡ Oneravit hunc dolorem nuncius mortis Andromachi, quem præficeret Syriæ; vivum Samaritæ cremaverunt. Ad cujus interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima celeritate potuit, contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

§ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 6.

army of Alexander, while part of the adjoining lands were given to the Jews. *

Hyrchanus, the first of the Jewish high priests who had ventured to shake off the Syrian yoke, was the next who came as an enemy against the city of Samaria †: this was not for religious differences with the Samaritans, properly so called; since they had been settled at Shechem from the time of their being driven out of their own city by the army of Alexander. The race who at present inhabited it, was the Syro-Macedonian, or a mixture of Syrians, Macedonians, and Greeks; and, as these had all been tutored in a warlike school, they had encompassed their town with a lofty double wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications, which, added to the advantages of their natural situation, rendered it difficult to attack them with success. ‡ The Jewish historian admits that this was now a very strong city, but adds, that Hyrchanus, being greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, a colony of the Jews and confederate with them, and this in compliance with the king of Syria, he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains.

The place being impregnable to the force of arms, there was no other way of reducing it but by cutting off all its supplies; so that the besiegers themselves drew an outer ditch round the city below, and built a double wall about it of four-score furlongs, or ten miles in circuit. In this manner they continued cooped up for a whole year, during which time they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the most loathsome food, and at length to deliver up their city. “And when Hyrchanus had thus taken the city,” says Josephus, “which was not done till after a year’s siege, he

* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. viii. p. 544.

† The first of the Ptolemies, surnamed Lagus, who was the friend and companion of Alexander, in his conquest of Asia, and who, after his death, became king of Egypt, Libya, and part of Arabia, is said to have laid waste Samaria, when he retired from Syria into Egypt at the approach of Antigonus in the Syrian War. Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 6.

‡ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 342.

was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought *rivulets* to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. *

Not long after, Gabinius, who had succeeded Scaurus as president of Syria, settled such cities as had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed, “while a great number of men,” says the historian, “readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.” † Samaria is numbered among these, and he is said to have called this, after its restoration, from his own name, Gabiniana. ‡

It did not rise to any thing like its former consequence, however, until the time of Herod, whose magnificent works in honour of Cæsar, Agrippa, and Antony, have already been often spoken of at large; “yet,” says the historian, in describing the monuments which Herod had reared to the memory of these his friends and patrons, “he did not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given to them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long §, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city thus built had erected a very large temple to Cæsar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastus, or Augustus ||, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.” ¶

The purpose of Herod’s bringing many of the people here who had assisted him in the wars, and of his making them fellow-citizens

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 10. s. 3.

† Joseph. Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 8. s. 4.

‡ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 376.

§ This is confounded by the authors of the Universal History, with the wall of Shechem, which they make Josephus describe to be of this extent, though he evidently speaks only of Sebaste. — Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. b. 1. c. 7. p. 440.

|| *Sebaste*, in Greek, is literally *Augustus* in Latin.

¶ Joseph. Jewish Wars, b. i. c. 21. s. 2.

with the rest, was, says the same historian in another place, “ out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the *acclivity* of the place for making its fortifications stronger ; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities, for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now, within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and half (in circuit), and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also ; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greater part a citadel ; and as to the elegance of its buildings, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste and of his beneficence to future ages.” *

It is of this city of Herod that the remains are now to be traced ; and both the relative distance, local position, and unaltered name of Sebasta, leave no doubt as to the identity of its site.

Josephus calls it, in one place, “ a day’s journey distant from Jerusalem † ;” and, in another, “ a city not far from ‡ Cæsarea,” both of which are strictly true of Sebasta. Its position is marked as on a hill, the *acclivities* of which were made use of for fortifica-

* Jewish Antiquities, b. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

† Ant. Jud. l. xv. c. 8. s. 5.

‡ De Bello, l. i. c. 28. s. 6.

tions.* Its strength is implied in the denunciation of Amos. "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, which are named chief of the nations to whom the house of Israel tame."† And its local features are equally shown in the threat of Micah, "I will make Samaria as an heap of a field, and as planting of a vineyard, and I will pour down the stones thereof into the vales, and I will discover the foundations thereof."‡ Josephus, in describing the precautions which Ahab had taken to shut up every thing in the strongest cities he had, mentions that he abode in Samaria itself, as the most inaccessible of them; "for," says he, "the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects."§ Pliny also calls it "Sebasta upon the mountains," and reckons it among the chief cities of Palestine. || The manner of investing it and walling it round in all the sieges it underwent, proves it also to have been an *isolated* hill, all of which characteristics still unequivocally remain.

That the country about it was fruitful and productive, has already been shown; and that it abounded with water, may be inferred from the account of Hyrcanus bringing *rivulets* to drown it, and causing waters to run under it. Among the medals struck in this city, with the figure of the goddess Astarte, (who was the Venus of the Assyrians, and was so honoured as a divinity, as to have a famous temple at Hieropolis, served by three hundred priests always employed in sacrificing to her.) This blessing of abundance of water, is seemingly implied by the goddess being represented as treading a river under foot. And indeed this, as well as all the other localities already detailed, being permanently imprinted on the place by the hand of Nature, remain unaltered.

It may be thought by some, to have been quite unnecessary to collect them so much at large as they are here shown; but, it has

* Antiq. Jud. l. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

§ Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 14. s. 1.

† Amos, vi. 1.

‡ Micah, i. 6.

|| Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

been thought well to bring them into one point of view for the sake of elucidating the nature of the present remains of Sebasta; more particularly as the latest, the most learned, and, perhaps, deservedly, the most popular modern traveller in these regions, has unaccountably fixed on Sanhoor as the probable site of Sebasta, though, in his way from Nazareth to Nablous, or from Tiberias to the same place, he must have passed in sight of the hill on which its ruins stand; and could scarcely fail, one would think, to have often heard of it from his guides under its present name of Subusta, as it is one of the most well-known places, both to Mohammedans and Christians, on all this road. *

It will be better, perhaps, to describe the remains in the order of their importance, than in the succession in which they are seen on approaching it from the east; since, in that direction, the most modern of them is the most conspicuous. The first impression that the view of the place makes is, that the *form* of the hill of Shemer, as it now shows itself, is such as would naturally suggest an idea of its fitness for a fortress, or a post of defence, to whoever might be settled on it. In looking round for the ditch and the wall, with which Hyrcanus is said to have surrounded it when he invested it during the year's siege, there are many places that might have been found, perhaps, on more mature examination of them, to mark the traces of it; but as we had not leisure to connect them, we could not fix on any as unequivocal vestiges of these works. The same might be said of the inner walls and fortifica-

* Dr. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. Sanhoor is called by him Santorri, and he says of it, "We should have considered this as the site of the ancient Samaria, were it not for the express mention made by Maundrell, and by others, of the town of Sebaste, still preserving a name belonging to that city." Quaresmius also mentions the city of Sebaste, sive Samaria, as occurring in the route from Sichar to Jemni or Jennin; although performing this journey, we found no other place intervening, except Santorri; and it is situated upon a hill, according to the descriptions given of the ancient Samaria, which D'Anville places midway between Ginæa and Napolose and Sicham, vol. ii. c. 15. p. 503.

tions, though there were many detached pieces of walls standing on the edge of rocky prominences that might have been fragments of such works, but in these we could not discover any regular form. Indeed, from the very circumstances of these fortifications being often made, as Josephus says, of the acclivity of the hill itself, nothing would be more speedily demolished than masonry constructed on them, and nothing more difficult to identify than the acclivities on which such buildings stood. In this respect, namely, the facility of its destruction when once begun, arising chiefly from the steepness of its site, it resembled the fortress of Gamala on the other side of Jordan, with which Pliny has coupled it, probably from such similarity of position, when he enumerates, among the chief cities of Palestine, "Sebasta upon the mountain, and Gamala, which yet stands higher than it." *

Nearly on the summit of the hill, but rather on the western side, so as not to be seen on passing by from the road below, are the remains of a large street, lined by an avenue of columns on each side, probably the principal one of the city, and leading, apparently, to the place of the city-gate. There are eighty-three of these columns now erect, and some others fallen, but all of them are without capitals. The people of the country have a tradition that they are a part of Herod's palace; and the probability is, that they are at least a portion of the avenue to the temple which he built. It may be, indeed, the "Sacred place of a furlong and a half long," which Josephus says "he built about the *middle* of the city, and adorned with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty." The area which these pillars cover, is better calculated for building on than any other part of the hill, and though the fallen fragments of masonry scattered about leave nothing definite to be traced of a plan, without more time than

* Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 13.

we could spare to the task, yet sufficient still remains to prove that there were once other buildings there besides the one marked out by these columns. If these only remain erect while the other parts of the work have fallen to decay, this is chiefly from the firmness of their hold as *pillars*, which are generally the last part of ancient edifices that fall, and which often retain their original place, when every trace beside has disappeared.

On the eastern side of the hill, and also near the summit, are the remains of another building, of which eight large and eight small columns are still standing, with many others fallen near them. These are also without capitals, and are of a smaller size, and of an inferior stone to the others, and they were probably of the Doric order originally, to judge by the appearance of their proportions and intercolumniation; for we had not time to measure them. The foundations of the building, to which they might have belonged, cannot now be traced, though there are blocks of stone and fallen pillars scattered about near it; but the appearance of the ground, which, it must be admitted, is always liable to have been affected by subsequent accident, induced a conjecture that these pillars formed avenues of approach to a theatre, now destroyed. I know of no positive mention of such an edifice at Sebasta; but it is known that Herod, in his embellishment of Cæsarea, constructed theatres, amphitheatres, and places for the public games of Rome and Greece*, and even appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre in the plain, both costly works, but contrary to the Jewish customs.† It will be at least admitted, therefore, that such edifices as those were thought by him to be appropriate ornaments of a great city; and that no respect for the religious prejudices of the country would prevent his adorning Sebasta with them, after they had been

* Wars of the Jews, b. i. c. 21. s. 8.

† Ant. of the Jews, b. xv. c. 8. s. 1.

erected at Jerusalem, more particularly as it is said, "And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts." *

In the walls of the humble dwellings now forming the modern village of Sebasta, portions of sculptured blocks of stone are perceived, and even fragments of granite pillars have been worked into the masonry, while other vestiges of former edifices are occasionally seen scattered widely about. †

The most conspicuous object of all the remains of Sebasta, as seen from the road below in approaching it, is, however, the ruins of the most modern structure erected in it, except the habitations of the poor villagers themselves, namely, a large cathedral church, attributed to the piety of St. Helena. Sebasta, or Samaria, as it is more generally called in the New Testament, was among the earliest of those cities whose inhabitants embraced Christianity through the preaching and miracles of Philip; and among the number of his converts was Simon the sorcerer, or Simon Magus, as he is called, who from practising sorcery and bewitching the people of Samaria, became a Christian, in order, as it would seem, to purchase from the apostles by money the power of communicating to others the gift of the Holy Ghost. ‡ St. Jerome says, that it is thought Obadiah was buried at Samaria; and tradition fixes the sepulchres both of Elisha and of John the Baptist on this spot. Some bishops of this city are found to have subscribed to the ancient councils of the church, and probably Christianity flourished in it till the conquest of Palestine by the Saracens; but whether it ever reverted again to the possession of the original race of the

* Ant. of the Jews, b. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

† Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Sebasta, and knew it to be the ancient Samaria, thought these vestiges to be the remains of the palace of Achab, king of Israel. He notices its situation on a high mountain, and speaks of it as a delicious spot, from its fountains and gardens, and the beauty of the surrounding country. See Bergeron's Collection.

‡ Acts of the Apostles, viii. 5—20.

Samaritans, whose chief residence had been established at the Shechem near their temple on Mount Gerizim, I am not aware. In the days of St. Helena, it was however honoured with a stately edifice, of the same kind as the many other cathedrals and religious buildings erected by this devout old lady over every part of the Holy Land, and whose remains are now very considerable. This pile was reared over the supposed prison in which St. John the Baptist was confined, and from whence his head was brought in a charger to gratify the revenge of an angry woman, living in reputed incest with her husband's brother, and to fulfil an oath made to her daughter, whose dancing pleased Herod and his captains, when probably heated with wine, at his birthday-supper.

This large church, whose remains still exist, stands east and west, and is about one hundred feet in length, by fifty in breadth. In the court at the west end are two apertures, leading down to a large subterranean reservoir for water, well stuccoed on the inside, and now nearly dry; though during the rains it often becomes filled to the brim. On the south side are high slender buttresses, and on a piece of building without this is a sloping pyramidal mole, constructed of exceedingly large stones. The northern wall is quite plain; the eastern front is semicircular, with three open and two closed windows, each contained in arches divided from each other by three Corinthian columns.

The interior of the eastern front has a pointed arch, and columns of no known order, though the capitals approach nearer to the Corinthian than to any other. The eight small arches which go round the tops of the windows within, are semicircular, and have each at their spring the capital of a column, but no shaft attached to it; the great arch of the recess is pointed, and the moulding that passes round it is fantastic in the extreme. Among other things seen there, are the representations of scaly armour, an owl,

an eagle, a human figure, and an angel, all occupying separate compartments, and all distinct from each other.

The exterior of the eastern front presents a still more singular mixture of style, as the pointed and the round arch are both used in the same range, and the ornaments of each are varied. In the lower cornice are human heads, perhaps in allusion to the severed head of the Baptist; and there are here as fantastic figures as on the inside, the whole presenting a strange assemblage of incongruous ornaments in the most wretched taste.

The masonry appears in some parts to have been exceedingly solid, in others only moderately good; and in some places, weak and paltry; and at the west end, in a piece of building apparently added since the original construction of the church itself, are seen several blocks of sculptured stone, apparently taken from the ruins, and worked into the present masonry there.

On the inside of this ruined edifice, is a small mosque, erected over the supposed dungeon in which St. John was executed; and an Arab family, who claim the guardianship of this sanctuary, have pitched their dwelling on the south-west angle of the great church, where it has the appearance of a pigeon-house. On learning that I was a Moslem, we were all admitted into this mosque, which we entered with becoming reverence. They have collected here the white marble slabs, found amid the ruins of the church, to form a pavement; and in one part we noticed three large pieces with sculptured circles and bands on them, which were set up in the wall as tablets.

The mosque itself is a small oblong room, with steps ascending to an oratory, and its only furniture is a few simple lamps and some clean straw mats for prayer, the recess of the Caaba being in the southern wall. From the mosque, we descended by a narrow flight of steps to the subterranean chamber or dungeon of St. John, which had all the appearance of having been an ancient sepulchre. It was not more than ten feet square, and had niches as if for the

reception of corpses, in arched recesses on each side. There was here, too, one of those remarkable stone doors, which seem to have been exclusively appropriated to tombs, resembling exactly in form and size those described in the Roman sepulchres at Oom Kais. The panneling, the lower pivot, and the sill in the ledge for receiving the bolt, were all still perfect ; but the door was now unhung, and lay on its side against the wall.



CHAPTER XXIX.

SHECHEM, OR NEAPOLIS, MOUNT EBAL AND GERIZIM, AND THE WELLS
OF SAMARIA.

AFTER taking some bread and olive-oil, as a meal of hospitality with the Sheikh of Subusta, we quitted it about eleven o'clock, and from hence our road lay for half an hour over hills of siliceous stone, going constantly to the southward until we opened upon the long valley of Nablous, running nearly east and west.

We turned off to the eastward, leaving on our right the village of Beit Eiba, on the side of the hill; Beit Oozan, a smaller one, just above it; and on the summit of the range, an enclosed town with

walls and towers, called Aijeneid, all peopled by Mohammedans. The valley here is really beautiful, being covered with woods of olives, corn fields now green, reservoirs of water, gardens, aqueducts in different directions, both arched and plain, and all the marks of industry, opulence, and abundance.

We continued our way easterly through this valley, and at noon approached Nablous by the lower road, scarcely seeing it until we were near the gate. Just without it we passed through some grounds where several parties were spinning, winding off, and bleaching cotton thread; and soon afterwards we entered at the western gate. Passing through a narrow but crowded bazar, we halted at a public khan, and directed our first enquiries to know when the Damascus caravan would set out. What was my mortification to learn that it departed three days since, that there remained not the least hope of overtaking it, and that no other would go from hence for at least a month to come! I grew almost desperate at this information, and had I not been restrained, would have really set out immediately to follow it alone. A moment's consideration convinced me, however, that this would be rashness rather than enterprise, and that there was no remedy but in a patient search for some other occasion.

The horseman sent with me by Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, insisted that, as the caravan was gone, and we were perfect strangers here, he could not leave me until some arrangements should be made for our future proceeding; but recommended that I should return with him to Sanhoor, whither he would conduct me in safety. This was therefore assented to, as the only alternative remaining; but as there was yet ample time to return before sunset, we halted for an hour to repose our horses, to cast our eyes around on the leading features of the place, and to make, in the mean time, a visit to the well of Samaria, to the eastward of the town.

The name of Sichem, which is one of the most ancient of those by which this place is known, appears, like that of Samaria, to

have been applied to a district of country at first. On Abram's coming from Haran into the land of Canaan, he is said to have "passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Môreh."* It is said also, in the history of Jacob's journeyings, that "he came to Shalem†, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-Aram, and pitched his tent before the city."‡ The name too was evidently derived from that of the son of Hamor the Hurite, the prince of the country, whose name was Shechem. § Josephus, however, calls Shechem "a city of the Canaanites," and the inhabitants of it, Shechemites. || From these children of Hamor, the patriarch bought a parcel of a field here, where he had spread his tent, for an hundred pieces of money; and erected an altar, probably with a view to make it his permanent abode. ¶ And, indeed, this parcel of ground was held so sacred among his descendants, that the bones of Joseph, who died in Egypt, were brought up from thence to be buried here, and it became the inheritance of his children. **

It was after this apparent settlement among them, that Dinah, his daughter, went into the city, during the celebration of a festival among the Shechemites, to see the finery of the women of that country ††, or, as the Scriptures express it, "She went out to see the daughters of the land."‡‡ This young Mesopotamian girl was, however, so much more beautiful or fascinating than those she had gone out to behold, that when Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, he took her, and lay with

* Genesis, xii. 5.

† Some critics have thought that as *Shalem* or *Salem* signifies peace, safety, &c. in Hebrew, the original of this passage should be rendered thus: "And he came in peace and safety to the city of Shechem," (Anc. Un. Hist. vol iii. p. 289. 8vo.) which would therefore be meant only of the city of Shechem, so called from the prince of that name, who is expressly said to have been more honourable than all the house of his father. Genesis, xxxiv. 19.

‡ Gen. xxxiii. 18.

§ Ibid. xxxiv. 2.

|| Ant. Jud. l. i. c. xxi. s. 1.

¶ Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20.

** Joshua, xxiv. 33.

†† Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 21. s. 1.

‡‡ Gen. xxxiv. 1.

her, and defiled her. * Nor was it seemingly the momentary gratification of sensual passion which allured him, for "his soul clave unto Dinah, and he loved the damsel, and spoke kindly unto † her." And when difficulties arose about his legal marriage with her, he replied, in all the vehemence of a young and ardent lover, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife." ‡ The Scriptures say, that all the males of Shechem underwent circumcision to obviate the difficulties of an alliance with the family of Jacob; but Josephus omits the mention of this, though both authorities agree in the dreadful vengeance that was taken on them. This was no less than the slaughter of every male with the edge of the sword, by the two brothers of Dinah, Simeon and Levi, who could not, it seems, admit that the honour of their sister was redeemed by marriage, and who were as tenacious on the point of female purity as the Arabs of this same country continue to be to the present hour.

So great a destruction committed in a city by only two individuals, is differently accounted for by the different authorities already cited. Josephus, who mentions nothing of the circumcision of the males, says, "It being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males, as also the king, and his son with them, but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister." § The Scriptures say, that it was on the third day after the circumcision of all the males, and when they were yet sore from the wound, that this act of hardihood was undertaken. As in most of the cases of war and revenge in these early records, the mere slaughter of their enemies, however great and terrible it was, did not glut their vengeance, which was wreaked even on the helpless bodies of the dead, and

* Genesis, xxxiv. 2.

† Ibid. xxxiv. 3.

‡ Ibid. xxxiv. 12.

§ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1. c. 22. s. 1.

on such of the unoffending wives and infants as remained among the living. "The sons of Jacob," says the inspired writer, after describing the slaughter itself, "came upon the *slain*, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister; they took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field, and all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives took they captive, and spoiled even all that was in the house." * The authors of the Universal History characterise this act of revenge as a treacherous and inhuman massacre of the inhabitants, on the part of Dinah's brothers; and say that Jacob reproved them for their barbarity; though they add, that the rest of the inhabitants of the country would, no doubt, have made them pay dearly for it, had not God interposed, and sent a panic-fear amongst them, insomuch that they even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered Shechemites. †

The most remarkable feature of this place was its situation between the two mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, or the mountain of blessing and the mountain of cursing. These hills were fixed on by Moses for the purpose of setting on them the blessings and the curses which he proposed to the children of Israel, after they should have entered the land of Canaan; and though he could never have seen the hills himself, as he did not live to enter the promised land, yet probably, from the information of his spies, he speaks precisely of their local position, "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign, over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh." ‡

His successor, Joshua, having crossed the Jordan, and taken Jericho, went up, after first burning the city of Ai, and hanging its king on a tree, and built an altar unto the God of Israel, in Mount

* Genesis, xxxiv. 27—29.

‡ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iii. b. 1. c. 7. p. 289, 290. 8vo.

* Deut. xi. 30.

Ebal; placing the one half of the people here, and the other half on the opposite mountain of Gerizim, he read to them from this last all the words of the law, and pronounced the blessings and the cursings to all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, omitting not a word of all that Moses had commanded.* From this it would plainly appear, that these opposite hills were sufficiently near for the human voice to be distinctly heard from the summit of the one to the summit of the other. A more remarkable instance may be cited to prove, too, that though Josephus calls Gerizim "the *highest* of all the mountains that are in Samaria †," yet that the human voice could be heard from its summit even in the valley below. In the history of Abimelech, who, after the practice of all pretenders to power still in the same country, raised money with which he hired vain and light persons to follow him; and going into his father's house slew threescore and ten of his own brethren, on one block, and so waded through the blood of his very kinsmen to royalty, it is said, the youngest of his brothers, Jotham, escaped by flight, and when all the men of Shechem were gathered together in the plain ‡, where they made Abimelech king, he went up and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice to address to those who were below; one of the earliest and most ingenious fables in holy writ. § These facts, therefore, set the proximity of the mountains beyond doubt, and limit their altitudes to a moderate standard.

* Joshua, viii. 28—35.

Shechem, with her suburbs in Mount Ephraim, was one of the cities of refuge for the slayer. Joshua, xxi. 21.

† Ant. Jud. i. xi. c. 8. s. 2.

‡ This word, which in Hebrew is *Alon*, is by some translated "an oak;" and the present version of our Scriptures calls it "The plain of the pillar that was in Shechem." There was an altar or pillar set up here by Abram, (Gen. xii. 7.) and another by Jacob, (Gen. xxxiii. 20.) There was also a celebrated oak at the same place, under which Jacob buried all the strange gods and the profane ornaments of his household, (Gen. xxxv. 4.) so that it might have been either of these three that remained; or even the great stone which Joshua set up there long afterwards, under this very oak and altar, before his death. (Joshua, xxiv. 26.)

§ Judges, ix. 1—21.

As has been before described, in speaking of the destruction of Samaria, and the removal of the Samaritans from thence, these people made Shechem their chief abode, and Josephus mentions it as being their metropolis, and situate at Mount Gerizim, where they had a temple, at the period at which Alexander the Great made his visit to Jerusalem. * It is chiefly known, afterwards, as the seat of these people, who looked upon the adjoining mountain of *Gerizim*, on which Moses had ordered the *blessings* to be pronounced, to be the most holy of mountains; and though Joshua is said to have set up the altar in *Ebal*, they hold that Moses himself had buried certain sacred vessels in Gerizim, though he never came westward of the Jordan. As late as the wars of Antiochus,† and Hyrcanus the high priest, in Syria, it still retained the name; for, in speaking of the acts of the latter, Josephus says, "He took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim, and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple, which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem." †

In the time of Vespasian it was called Neapolis, or the new city, and it is reckoned among the colonies planted, or towns restored by him. ‡ Pliny, in enumerating the cities of Palestine, mentions Shechem under the name of Neapolis, which he says was anciently called Mamortha, or Maxbota. § And Josephus, in detailing the movements of Vespasian's army, in the Judean war, mentions his coming from Emmaths down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city by others called Neapolis, [or Sechem,] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Conea, where he pitched his camp. ||

It continued to be known afterwards chiefly by this its Greek name; and indeed this is the only one by which it is called in all

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 11. c. 8. s. 6.

† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. 1. c. 2. s. 6.

‡ Anc. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 36.

§ Pliny, Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 13.

|| Joseph. Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8. s. 1.

the histories of the Crusades and Saracen wars, and which it still retains, under the Arabic form of Nablous. *

This town is seated between the two hills of Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, and so fully occupies the valley between them, that the mountains may be said to press it in on each side, and leave no room to add any thing to its breadth. Its length is not, however, so limited, as there is an extension of the valley, to the east and west, which would admit of the buildings being continued in each of those directions. The town consists chiefly of two long streets, running nearly east and west through the centre of the valley described, and those again intersected by several smaller ones, mostly crossing them at right-angles. At the present time the town is populous and flourishing, and the grounds around it bear the marks of opulence and industry.

Within the town are six mosques, five baths, one Christian church of schismatic Greeks, an excellent covered bazar for fine goods, and an open one for provisions; besides numerous cotton-cloth manufactories, and shops of every description. One of the mosques is built within the precincts of a ruined church of St. Helena, the eastern front of which is still perfect. This presents a fine pointed arch, supported by Corinthian columns, and the upper part is highly ornamented, like some of the Saracen doors in Cairo. Within, are plain granite pillars, and the whole presents as singular a mixture of orders, and as grotesque a taste, as the ruin at Subussta.

The resident population of Nablous is thought to amount to ten thousand, though I should conceive it to be somewhat less. These are almost all Mohammedans; the few Greek Christians there scarcely amounting to fifty in number. The town is governed by

* The Arabs having no P in their alphabet, constantly supply its place by the letter B, as in Nablous, (نابلس) for Neapolis; Attarabulus, (اطارابلس) for Tripolis; with Bûtrus, Boolus, and Butrak, (بطريق, بولس, و بطرس) for Peter, Paul, and Patriarch; as well as Bâsha (باشا), which the Turks and Persians who have the P in their alphabets, pronounce invariably Pashâw, (پاشا).

a Mutesellim, or Beg, as he is termed, subject to Damascus ; and he has, at present, about four hundred Amaout soldiers. The men dress partly in the Turkish and partly in the Arabian fashion ; but their general appearance approaches nearer to the former. The women wear the whole face covered with a coloured veil, as in the towns of the Yemen ; and the scarf thrown over their head and shoulders is of a yellowish white, with a deep red border ; the stuff being, seemingly, a silk manufacture, or, at least, a mixture of that with cotton.

Though Nablous is a place of considerable trade with Damascus, and with the towns on the sea-coast, yet there were no Jews here who remained as permanent residents. As for the Samaritans, though a remnant of them existed so late as the time of Maundrell's journey, or about a century ago, there were not, as I was informed, half a dozen families remaining, and these were so obscurely known, and remained in such privacy, that many who had passed all their days in this town, did not know of the existence of such a sect. To so low a state are the people reduced, who once held this city as their metropolis, and who established here the chief seat of their religious as well as of their temporal power !

Though the name of *Samaritans* might, with propriety, be applied to all the inhabitants of the country of Samaria, it is generally restricted to the sect, who before, and at the time of Christ's being on earth, were so obnoxious to the Jews on account of their difference of religion. The principal events in the history of these people have been already mentioned, in describing the changes which the city of Samaria or Sebasta had undergone. By the facts there stated, it will appear, that the origin of the Samaritans, properly so called, is to be assigned to that mixed multitude of people who were brought from Assyria to replace the tribes of Israel, that had been carried away captive by Shalmanezar ; and who, though called by the general name of Cutheans *, were composed,

* They were called in Hebrew, Cuthim, from Cuthah, one of the provinces out of which they came. (Anc. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 185.) And Josephus says, that they were

as we learn from the sacred records, of Dinaites, Apharsathchites, Tarpelites, Apharsites, Archevites, Babylonians, Susanchites, Dehavites, Elamites, and other nations. *

* As the Israelites who were carried away retained their old religion in their captivity, so these foreigners who replaced them adhered to the worship of their own countries; for the Scriptures say, "Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had † made." And after enumerating these by name, and recapitulating the commands of God against such idolatry, the sacred writer adds, "Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner." ‡ This was after the Lord had sent lions among them, who devoured them, because they knew not the manner of the God of the land, and after one of the captive priests had been sent back all the way from Assyria to save them from these devouring § lions, by teaching them how to fear the Lord, and instructing them in manner of which they were ignorant. || The result was a singular mixture of the monotheism of the Jews with the polytheism of their ancestors, however incompatible these two might seem; for the Scriptures add; "So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children, and their children's children; as did their fathers, so do they unto this day." ¶

After the return from the captivity of Babylon, when the children of Israel gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem, and restored their altars, and were about to rebuild their temple **, these Samaritans were still a distinct people,

called in the Hebrew tongue Cutheans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. (Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.)

* Ezra, iv. 9.

† 2 Kings, xvii. 29.

‡ 2 Kings, xvii. 40.

§ Josephus calls what is here interpreted lions, "a plague." (Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.)

|| 2 Kings, xxiv. 26 to 28.

¶ Ibid. xvii, 41.

** Ezra, iii. 1.

though it is thought from their own confession that they had abandoned their idolatry. Nevertheless, they are called "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," even when they solicited permission to build the temple with them; and though it might be true, as they asserted, that they had sought the God of the Israelites, and sacrificed unto him, since the days of Esarhaddon*, the king of Assur, who had brought them up out of their own lands, yet it is evident that they had mixed idolatry with their worship. It was still chiefly on this account, therefore, that the Jews replied to them, "Ye have nothing to do with us to build a house unto our God, but we ourselves will build unto the Lord God of Israel, as King Cyrus, the king of Persia hath commanded us.† Again, when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, who appear to have been numbered among the Samaritans, derided the Jews' intentions to rebuild the wall of the city; Nehemiah replied to them, "The God of heaven, he will prosper us, therefore we his servants will arise and build; but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial, in Jerusalem."‡ This timid restorer of the city seems to have been often alarmed, or "put in fear," as he expresses it, by the sneers§ and letters||, and counsels¶, and reports**, of these wordy opponents; so much so, that the work was carried on with the building materials in one hand, and a weapon in the other ††, and no one, except for the purpose of religious ablutions, ever put off his clothes, even when they lay down to rest.‡‡ Unnecessary as such precautions seemed against so feeble an enemy as these Samaritans, it proves at least how obnoxious they were to the Jews, and how firmly determined these last were to exclude them from

* The same with Shalmaneser, as he is called by Josephus, * Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4. s. 3.

† Ezra, iv. 3.

§ Ibid. iv. 2.

¶ Ibid. 9.

†† Ibid. iv. 1.

‡ Nehemiah, ii. 20.

|| Ibid. vi. 5.

** Ibid. vi. 13.

‡‡ Ibid. iv. 23.

all participation in their religious labour, or in their worship at Jerusalem.

Though the Samaritans continued thus distinct from the Jews, no mention is made of any temple among them common to all, either for the worship of the God of Israel, which they sometimes professed, or of their own idols, of which they were accused, until about the period of Alexander's questionable visit to Jerusalem. *

The circumstance which then gave rise to their setting up a temple of their own, and separating themselves still more decidedly than before from the Jews, was not unlike that of our Eighth Harry's quarrel with the Pope, which led to the separation of our reformed church from that of Rome, and both show how impatiently the yoke of forced marriages, or forced divorces, is likely to be borne, even when it is the holy hands of religion that would bind it fast. Manasseh, who was the brother of Jaddua the high priest, and a partner with him in that office, was married to the daughter of a foreigner; and the jealous Jews thinking such a precedent might encourage others who were desirous of marrying strange wives to follow it, ordered him to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar; while the high-priest, joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, drove him away from the sanctuary. Manasseh, says the historian, then went to his father-in-law Sanballat, who, as we have seen, was one of the chief of the Samaritans, and told him that, although he loved his daughter Nicaso, he was not willing to be deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, which was the principal one of the nation, on her account. The father promised him, that if he would keep his daughter for his wife, he would not only preserve to him the honour he now held, but make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, and build a temple for him like that at Jerusalem, and advance him to the power and dignity of a high priest, and all this with the appro-

* See the arguments against this story, as cited by the authors of the *Universal History*, vol. viii. b. 1. c. 2. p. 534. 8vo.

bation of Darius the king. Manasseh was satisfied with these splendid promises, and abandoned his former office, while many other of the priests and Levites, who were entangled in similar matches, followed his fortunes by coming over to Sanballat, who gave them money, land, and habitations, and divided estates among them, in order in every way, as the historian says, to gratify his son-in-law.*

Alexander the Great was about this time entering Syria, after his victories at the Granicus and Issus, and when he began the siege of Tyre, Sanballat renounced his allegiance to Darius, and led with him seven thousand of his own subjects to join the Macedonian army in the siege of that place. This was well received by Alexander, particularly after the Jews' refusal to grant him any aid; and when a convenient opportunity occurred for Sanballat to ask the Macedonian monarch to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, and constitute his son-in-law Manasseh the high priest of it, it was no sooner demanded than granted. The temple was therefore built, and the priest ordained. † On the return of Alexander from Jerusalem, which was almost immediately after this, the Samaritans were settled at Gerizim, and had the city of Shechem, which lies at its foot, for their metropolis. ‡

These people were, from the beginning, remarkable for their indifference to their particular religion, and their character formed a striking contrast to that of the Jews, whose obstinate adherence to the rites of their fathers was the chief cause of all the persecutions that they suffered. It is true, that this character of instability is given to them by an enemy; but the proofs of it are too numerous to render it doubtful. "When they see the Jews in prosperity," says the Jewish historian, they pretend, that they are changed and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 2.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

alliance with them ; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say, they are no way related to them ; and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare, that they are sojourners that come from other countries." * Even immediately after Alexander had granted them permission to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, they petitioned him to remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because, like the Jews, they did not sow thereon ; and when Alexander asked them, who they were that made such a petition, they admitted that they were Hebrews, in order to enforce their claim to exemption from tribute in this Sabbatic year † ; yet called themselves Sidonians, living at Shechem, and not Jews, in order to avoid being included among these in other edicts. ‡

A still more remarkable instance of this subservience of their religion to their interest or convenience is recorded of them during the terrible persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, who converted the temple of Jerusalem into a temple of Jupiter Olympus, defiled its altars by the sacrifice of swine on them, and executed the most atrocious cruelties, even on the women and children of this unhappy nation. " When the Samaritans," says the historian, " saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, or that the temple on Mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3. A pretty accurate estimate may be formed of the character of this people, when it is known that all the vagabonds and outcasts of the Jews found refuge among them, and that they continued to the last to be as mixed a race as they were on their first coming from Assyria to replace the captives of Shalmanezzer.

† The Jews were commanded not only to cease from all agricultural labours on this year, but to hold as forbidden the very reaping or gathering of that which grew wild, and of its own accord, (Levit. xxv. 1 to 7.) as well as to release all their purchased Hebrew slaves who might desire their freedom, (Exod. xxi. 2.) and to remit or release all debts owing from one Israelite to another. (Deut. xv. 1.) ; so that the payment of tribute to a foreign power in such a year would have pressed hard on them indeed.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 6.

was according to their nature, as we have already shown, and they now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians, and, indeed, they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle, whose contents were these:—To King Antiochus, the god Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called Sabbath; and when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerizim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named ‘the Temple of Jupiter Hellenicus.’ If this were once done, we would be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupations with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee.”* Their request was granted; and the temple, from being professedly reared to the God of Israel, was soon transformed into that of Jupiter Hellenicus, with the same facility as those of Venus and Adonis were subsequently dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and her Immaculate Son, in the same land.

When Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, had completely shaken off the Syrian yoke, as before spoken of, he turned his arms against these Samaritans, and taking the metropolis of Shechem

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 5. s. 5.

and their holy mountain of Gerizim, demolished this temple of the Hellenian Jupiter, although it had stood two hundred years, as well as all the edifices, altars, and other ornaments, that had been subsequently erected there by Jezebel, and put to death nearly the whole of the Samaritan priesthood.

As long as they continued thus divested of power, they were sufficiently harmless towards the Jews, but they seized with enthusiasm the first occasion of vengeance. It was on the eve of that very feast of the Passover, when Jesus, in his twelfth year, was found in the temple, astonishing the doctors with his early wisdom *, that a number of them having privately stolen into the temple, strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead men's bones, so that the priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity. †

The conference of Christ with the woman of Samaria, at Shechem or Sychar ‡, not many years after this, when he was grown to manhood, proves how complete the separation and even hatred still was between the Jews and the Samaritans. When he sat on the brink of Jacob's well, there to rest himself, as he was wearied with his journey from Judea towards Galilee, and asked this woman, who was drawing water at the well, to give him drink, she said unto him, "How is it that thou, being a Jew, asketh drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans?" Yet the result of this conference was the conversion of the woman, from his telling her that she had already had five husbands, and was now living with one, who was not her husband, in adultery: and many of the Samaritans of that city also believed in him, for the saying of the woman, which testified, "He told me all that ever I did." § After the death of Christ,

* St. Luke, ii. 41—47.

† Anc. Un. Hist. v. x. p. 519.

‡ This was a name given to the city by the Jews, as a term of reproach, Sychar signifying *drunk* in Hebrew, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious Jews, the *shicore Ephraim*, the drunkards of Ephraim. Isaiah, xxviii. 1. 3. See Anc. Un. Hist. v. ii. p. 463., and the Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 292.

§ St. John, iv. 9—39.

two others of the Samaritans were converted by Philip, Peter, and John, about the time that Simon Magus was practising his sorceries among them, and to whom they attributed great power from God, because he had bewitched them with sorceries. *

During the Roman wars in Judea, under Vespasian and his son Titus, there were still left a sufficient number of the original Samaritans to form a distinct people. It was just after the taking of Jotapata by Vespasian, and of Japha by Titus and Trajan, all three afterwards emperors of Rome, that the Samaritans assembled themselves on Mount Gerizim, as a post of defence. Their numbers are stated to have been eleven thousand six hundred; and the Roman general sent against them Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen. These did not deem it safe to go up upon the hill and give them battle, from the advantage which their enemies possessed in being on such commanding ground; but they encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with the army, and blockaded them there. It was in the middle of summer, and the Samaritans were destitute of water and other necessities, so that many died from hunger, thirst, and violent heat; and others again, preferring slavery to a death of this kind, deserted to the Romans, while those that still held out, were of course much broken by their sufferings. Cerealis then ascended the hill with his soldiers, and, offering the security of his right hand, invited the Samaritans to surrender; but with an infatuation seemingly unprecedented in their former history, they refused all overtures, and fought until every man among them was slain.

Though Jesus himself commenced the work among the Samaritans, by the conversion of the adulterous woman, and the Apostles had continued it by bringing over the followers of Simon Magus, and even that sorcerer himself, till he was cursed out of their society, for thinking that he could buy of them the power of

* Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9—11.

giving the Holy Ghost to add to his other sorceries ; yet, as we have seen in the case of their opposition to the Romans, the great body of the Samaritans still retained their former name, and all their former veneration for the holy mountain of Gerizim, on which they had made so obstinate a stand.

But neither the vengeance which Judas Maccabeus and Hyrcanus had taken of them for their heresies, and all the consequent opposition of the Jewish interest and power to which these religious differences led, nor this almost total annihilation of their race by the Romans as mere enemies of the state, were sufficient to fill up the measure of their sufferings. Five centuries after the Christian era, they had another enemy to sustain the attack of, and, as their numbers seem to have increased in the interval of comparative peace, their defence was more stubborn and of longer duration, though equally unavailable with their former ones. Unprincipled as their own conduct seems on many occasions to have been, this last persecution was not apparently called forth by any obnoxious acts, either of treachery or opposition to the reigning power which inflicted it, and the doctrines which Jesus had preached among them would, least of all, lead them to expect, that while the cross was held out to them in one hand, the scourge should be shaken over them with the other. But such was the spirit of the times, that the very scenes in which the most humane, benevolent, and charitable doctrines were promulgated by the humblest of men, were transformed into theatres of blood and vengeance, by the pride, the cruelty, and unforgiving bigotry of his pretended imitators and most devoted disciples.

The historian who relates this event, says, " The Samaritans were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Gerizim, but the persecution of Justinian offered only the alternative of baptism or rebellion ; they chose the latter. Under the standard of a desperate leader,

they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed," adds the same historian, "that one hundred thousand subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war, which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate wilderness. But," he continues, "in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers, and he piously laboured to establish, with fire and sword, the unity of the Christian faith." *

Since that period, a remnant of them has, however, always been found rallied round what might be called the local standard of their religion, the Mountain of Gerizim. † In the year 1676, there was a correspondence between the chief priest of the Samaritans at Nablous, and the learned Scaliger, on the differences between the Hebrew and Samaritan pentateuch; and in the year 1697, Mr. Maundrell had a personal conference with the then residing dignitary; but I was assured by all those who knew of the

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi. c. 47. p. 276. 8vo.

† In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Neapolis or Sichem, and describes it with great accuracy as seated in a valley between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, there were in this city about a hundred Cuthæi, (of whom there were two hundred at Cesarea) who did not observe the law of Moses, and were then, as well as now, called Samaritans. Their priests were of the race of Aaron, and they were called Aaronites. They offered sacrifice on Mount Gerizim, on the Pascal and other feasts, on an altar constructed of stones brought from the Jordan by the children of Israel. They called themselves of the tribe of Ephraim, and had custody of the sepulchre of Joseph the son of Jacob, whose bones were brought up out of Egypt, and buried in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for an hundred pieces of silver. Aaron was also buried in a hill here that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim, the name of all this range of the mountains of Nablous. (Josh. 24. 32, 33.) Their omission of certain letters in writing the names of the patriarchs, and their substitution of others in their places, was assumed by Benjamin as sufficient proof of their not being of the true seed of Israel. He describes their customs, purifications, &c. at large. Bergeron's Collection.

existence of this people at Nablous, though these were very few, that their numbers were more reduced now than at any former period, and that, at most, there were not more than a dozen families composing their church; these, they said, never visited the summit of Mount Gerizim, but performed their religious rites in studied seclusion and obscurity, and were, if possible, more despised here than the Jews are in other Mohammedan cities.

These Jews, of whom there are none resident here *, accuse the Samaritans of believing the Godhead to be a corporeal being. Epiphanius, who numbers them in his catalogue of heretics, insists that they worshipped the traphim or idols, which Rachel had stolen from her father Laban, and which they dugged up from under the oak in Shechem, where Jacob had buried them. † And other Jews, again, give out that their religion consists in the adoration of a calf ‡; but, say the commentators, "Credat Judæus."

The account which they themselves give of their own origin, is that they are descended from Joseph by Ephraim; that their temple on Mount Gerizim was built by Joshua, after his taking possession of the promised land; and that they have preserved their genealogy, in uninterrupted succession, from Ruz, of the seed of Aaron, who was their first high-priest, down to the present time. Of the first captivity of the Israelites, they say that the kings of Jerusalem and Syria having revolted against Nebuchadnezzar, he came and took Jerusalem, and went from thence to the Shechemites, whom he ordered to leave that country in seven days, on pain of being massacred, which they did accordingly. The strangers whom he settled in Judea and Shechem in their stead, could not live there, because the fairest fruits of the land were

* As Nablous is a place of great trade, (and commerce seldom fails to draw these scattered sons of Israel together,) it is not improbable but that some religious prejudice may keep them from residing here; but, from not meeting with any Jews in the place, I could not ascertain this from any authority to be relied upon.

† Genesis, xxxv. 6.

‡ Maundrell's Journey, p. 80. 8vo.

tainted with a mortal poison, so that at last the Hebrews were sent back to their own pestilential land again. These are the *devouring lions* of the Scriptures, and the *plague* of Josephus, before mentioned; and the sending back a priest of Israel to restore the worship of the true God. On the return of the captives; say the Samaritans, a dispute arose, whether they should rebuild the temple of Jerusalem or that of Gerizim. Zerubbabel was for the former, and Sanballat for the latter, and each pleaded the sanction of the pentateuch; but as their copies even then differed, one of them fixing on Jerusalem as the site, and the other on Gerizim, each insisted that the copy of his antagonist was corrupted, and his own pure, as still continues to be mutually done by the doctors of the three great sects among whom the writings of Moses are divided. To end the dispute, these champions of truth bethought themselves of an expedient, and agreed that the copy which should withstand the fiery trial should be admitted to be the authentic one. Accordingly Zerubbabel flung his own into the fire; and, sacred as the materials were, they were instantly consumed. Sanballat followed the example; but the word of the Lord God of Israel being imperishable, it came three times out of the flames untouched by fire.* Such a miracle was of course enough to confirm those who were convinced before in the propriety of their choice; yet it had no effect on those who were before of a contrary opinion. But when "the eyes are blinded that they shall not see, and the heart is hardened that it shall not believe, what power can open the one or soften the other?"

It is clear, from the many instances already cited, that the hatred of these two sects to each other was quite mutual. Even Jesus reproached them with worshipping they knew not what; and he is thought to have *excluded* them from salvation, when he told them that *this* was of the Jews.† The Jews, in their turn, when they wished to express their greatest abhorrence of Christ, replied

* Anc. Univ. Hist., vol. x. p. 228.

† St. John, iv. 22.

to his reproaches, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" * His disciples themselves could not contain their indignation against them, when they refused to receive their Master, because his face was as though he would go up to Jerusalem, but angrily exclaimed, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?" † And though Jesus then rebuked them, by telling them that he was not come down to destroy men's lives, but to save them; yet when he sent his disciples forth to preach to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he expressly commands them, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not." ‡

The summary of their opinions, as collected from the pentateuch, and from the correspondence of their chief priest with Scaliger, before adverted to, is given under the following heads:— They believe in one God, and in the laws of his servant Moses, which they profess to adhere more scrupulously to the observance of than the Jews do; they circumcise their male children invariably on the eighth day; they confine themselves to one wife, and never marry so near in kindred as is common among the Jews; they are rigid in the observance of certain ablutions; they keep the sabbath with all the rigour of a penance; they light no fires in the houses on that day, nor quit their dwellings but to visit the place of worship; the passover is with them the chief festival; but they observe the pentecost and feast of tabernacles with great attention, and regard the great fast of expiation most strictly; they never offer any sacrifice but on Mount Gerizim, and the head of their religion must reside at Shechem.

Their copy of the five books of Moses, on which they found these doctrines and observances, is thought by some to have been brought from Assyria into Samaria by the priest of Israel, whom Esarhaddon or Shalmaneser sent over to destroy the lions that

* St. John, viii. 48.

† St. Luke, ix. 54.

‡ St. Matthew, x. 5.

devoured the people because they knew not the God of the * land. Others again think that Manasses, the first high-priest of Gerizim, transcribed it from the copy of Ezra, on his return from the second captivity, or that of Babylon. The authors of the Universal History candidly confess, however, that when and how this manuscript came into the hands of the Samaritans, it is hard to guess, and that each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved. †

Besides the old Hebrew copy, there was one used among them, in the vulgar tongue, which was a mixture of Assyrian, Babylonish, and Chaldee, besides a Greek version of it for the sake of those to whom that language was then common. The Samaritans themselves indeed say, that, at the time of the translation of the Jewish scriptures into Greek by the seventy elders, from which it derives its name, their own high-priest was also invited by Ptolemy to come to Alexandria at the head of a number of learned men, to make a translation of the Samaritan copy; and they add, that on a review of both these works, their own copy was preferred to that of the Jews, and placed in the library of the Egyptian king. ‡

The most learned critics are of opinion, that it was only the first five books of Moses which were translated into Greek, at the Alexandrian court, and that the remaining books of the Jewish Septuagint bear evident marks in their style and language of being done by different hands, and at a much later period, which strengthens the notion that both pentateuchs were translated at the same time. Among the early fathers, Origen and St. Jerome mention the Samaritan pentateuch as differing from that of the Jews; and as these theologians are said both of them to have understood *Hebrew*, it was probably the copy in that language which they had seen. But there are several other fathers of less learning, who, in their allusions to it, are thought to have mentioned the Greek copy, since they are conjectured to have been

* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 233.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 244.

incapable of understanding either the original Hebrew, or the vulgar version of it.

The learned Scaliger was the first who set about enquiring after this work, by the correspondence already mentioned; and the munificence of Archbishop Usher soon procured several copies of it from Syria and Palestine, the most accurate of which has been printed in the Polyglot of Walton, where it may serve to gratify the curiosity of antiquaries; but, in the language of the Scriptures, "adds not a jot or a tittle to the law or the prophets."

In enquiring for the Bir-el-Yakoab, or Jacob's Well, we were told by everybody that this was in the town, which not corresponding with the described place of the well, we were desirous of seeing, led to further explanation; and at length, by telling the story attached to it, we found it was known here only by the name of "Ber Samareea," or the well of Samaria.

Procuring a Christian boy to accompany us, we went out by the eastern gate, and passing through a continuation of the same valley, in which Nablous stands, thickly covered with olive-trees, we reached the end of it in about a quarter of an hour, on foot, the pass opening into a round and more extensive vale, and the mountains east of the Jordan being in sight. On the right were some Mohammedan buildings on the sides and at the foot of Mount Gerizim, either mosques or tombs, now called Mähmoodeea, and said to stand over Joseph's sepulchre. On the left, at the foot of Mount Ebal, were several well-hewn grottoes in the rock; some with arched and others with square doors, most probably ancient sepulchres, without the old city of Sychem or Sychar. These grottoes were called here Khallat Rowgh-ban *, but we had no time to examine them.

* Rowghwan or Rowghban is a name given in Syria to monks, and more particularly to those who live in convents and other dwellings, remote from towns, and from society; and though Kallah means generally a castle, yet here it would imply only "the retreats of hermits," a purpose to which these caves were very probably at one time or other applied.

From hence, in another quarter of an hour, we reached the Well of Samaria. It stands at the commencement of the round vale, which is thought to have been the parcel of ground bought by Jacob for a hundred pieces of money, and which, like the narrow valley west of Nablous, is rich and fertile. Over this well stood anciently a large building, erected by St. Helena, of which there are now no other remains than some shafts of granite pillars; all the rest lying in one undistinguished heap of ruins. The mouth of the well itself had an arched or vaulted building over it, and the only passage down to it at this moment is by a small hole in the roof, scarcely large enough for a moderate-sized person to work himself down through.

We lighted a taper here, and taking off my large Turkish clothes, I did not then get down without bruising myself against the sides, nor was I at all rewarded for such an inconvenience by the sight below. Landing on a heap of dirt and rubbish, we saw a large flat oblong stone, which lay almost on its edge across the mouth of the well, and left barely space enough to see that there was an opening below. We could not ascertain its diameter, but by the time of a stone's descent, it was evident that it was of considerable depth, as well as that it was perfectly dry at this season; the fall of the stone giving forth a dead and hard sound.

Not far from the well of Samaria is the "Bir Yusef," over which is a modern building; and it is said to be, even at this day, frequented for water from Nablous. The well of Samaria might also have been so, therefore, from Sychar, although that city should not have extended farther east than the present town; and indeed it is no uncommon thing in Syria, as I myself have often witnessed, for water to be brought from a much greater distance. It is highly probable, therefore, that this is the identical well at which the interesting conference of Jesus with the woman of Samaria really happened.

I could find nothing of the old wall mentioned by Maundrell, and as the sepulchres of Khallat Rowgh-ban are much nearer the

town than the well, though they must have been without the city from the nature of the cliffs there, the wall did not probably extend more easterly than the site of the present town. Near the well of Samaria, and at the end of the narrow valley, or where it opens into the broader plain, are several round towers on the hills on each side, of an unknown date, probably watch-posts to guard this passage to the city.

One of the chief differences between the Jewish and the Samaritan pentateuch being the transposition of the names of Gerizim and Ebal, I had taken particular notice of these two mountains, or rather hills, both in going out and coming in. But it unfortunately happens, that neither relative positions nor local features are given of these in the sacred records, by which the point at issue might be decided. Josephus, however, is more explicit; for in his version of that command of Moses which has given rise to the dispute in question, he says, "Their leader ordered that, when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim situate on the *right* hand, and that called Ebal on the *left*; which, with reference to the run-rising, fixes the former indisputably on the *south*, and the latter on the *north*.*

In the commands of Moses, delivered to the Israelites while yet on the other side of Jordan eastward, he expressly names Gerizim as the mountain from which the *blessings* are to be pronounced on the congregation, and Ebal as the one from which the *curses* are to be uttered †; yet, in a subsequent chapter, the same lawgiver is made to order that an altar of unhewn stones, over which no iron was to pass, should be raised to the Lord, and the great stones set up plastered with plaster, on which the law was to be written; and those reared on Mount *Ebal*, which had before

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 8. s. 44. † Deut. xi. 29.

been, made the mountain of *cursing*. * Joshua, his successor, is afterwards represented as setting up the altar on *Ebal*, and offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings to the Lord, and inscribing on the plastered stones, as directed, the law which Moses had left to the children of Israel. †

The Samaritans have, in these places, substituted *Gerizim* for *Ebal*, and they accuse the Jews of having maliciously altered *their* text, out of odium to the Samaritans, putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, upon no other account but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. Such was the account of the chief priest of these people to Mr. Maundrell, who questioned him on the subject. To confirm this, says the same traveller, he pleaded that *Ebal* was the mountain of *cursing*, as we have seen before, and in its own nature an *unpleasant* place; but, on the contrary, *Gerizim* was the mountain of *blessing* by God's own appointment, and also in itself *fertile* and *delightful*; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain appointed for these religious festivals, and not, as the Jews have corruptly written it, *Hebal*. ‡

Mr. Maundrell thought that there was some truth in the Samaritan priest's observations on the superiority of *Gerizim* to *Ebal*; for, says he, though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet, as one passes between them, *Gerizim* seems to discover a more fruitful aspect than *Ebal*. My own impression, from seeing both these hills from several points of view, was, that *Gerizim* was by far the more agreeable, and might be made the more productive of the two, not only from its principal side, or that hanging over Nablous, having a northern aspect, and being therefore less burnt up by the sun in summer, but from its slope of ascent being less abrupt than that of *Ebal*, and from

* Deut. xxvii. 1—4.

† Joshua, viii. 30—32.

‡ Maundrell's Journey, p. 81. 8vo.

the soil being therefore more liable to accumulate, and less subject to be washed down by the vernal and autumnal rains.* Their altitudes appeared to be nearly equal, and neither of them exceeded seven or eight hundred feet from the level of the valley, though much higher from the sea, as the whole country here is elevated. We had not an opportunity of ascending either of the hills ourselves; but from all the information I could collect regarding them, no one knew of any great stones or other vestiges of buildings remaining on them, though it must be confessed that we met with only two persons out of at least fifty whom we consulted, that had ever been on the summit of both these hills; and to these the subject, as well as the motive of our enquiry, was alike strange and unaccountable.

* When Benjamin of Tudela visited this spot, he says that Mount *Garizim* was full of fountains and gardens; while *Ghebal*, as he writes it, was arid and rocky. — Bergeron's Collection.



CHAPTER XXX.

RETURN FROM NABLOUS TO NAZARETH.

THE call to afternoon prayers was heard as we re-entered Nablous, and as there was no time to be lost, we mounted and set out on our way back to Sanhoor. We now went out at a northern gate in the side of the town, and ascending a hill there, to go by a shorter road, we had a commanding view of the city, and of the valley in which it stands, from the heights above. Nothing could be more interesting than this sight; the lofty hills of Ebal and Gerizim approaching close to each other; the beautifully

fertile valley at their feet, covered with olive-woods, and corn-fields of the freshest green, and the white mass of flat-roofed dwellings and tall minarehs, which the busy town offered in contrast to the rest of the scene, formed altogether a new and charming picture.

• When we lost sight of the town, the remainder of our way was over rude and barren hills, almost constantly ascending and descending; and as it was altogether an unpractised road, we neither saw a human habitation, nor a single living being, till we came out at the village of Jubbagh, near to Sanhoor. It was now already sunset; but spurring our horses across the rest of the way on plain ground, we arrived in time for supper, which had been retarded for us by our kind host, from the moment that advice had been given him of our being seen from the Castle-gate, galloping towards the fort with all speed across the valley.

Nothing could exceed the welcome with which we were received on our return; and there appeared to be as much sincerity as warmth in the gladness of the chief and of his dependants. We supped together on several excellent dishes, and when we had finished, all the rest partook in their turns, as is usual among them. Our conversation was as interesting as that of the preceding evening; and I only regretted, as I had done a thousand times before, the impossibility of remembering all the new and curious observations which occur in interviews and parties of this kind.

My disappointment in not finding the caravan, and the best route of proceeding to the northward, were also talked of; and Hadjee Ahmed pressed me, by the kindest invitation, to remain with him for the next month, until the Damascus caravan should again depart from Nablous, assuring me, at the same time, that nothing in his power should be wanting to make my stay agreeable. I told him how sensible I felt of so much generosity, and said, what I really thought at the moment, that I knew of no suitable return which it would ever be in my power to make for it; when he replied, that, besides the satisfaction of doing good, in entertaining

the stranger who is distant from his home, his country, and his friends, the curious facts which my knowledge of other people and of other lands had made me acquainted with, would always make my conversation interesting, and cause me to be as agreeable as I should be a welcome guest.

If I could have followed my own inclination, I would certainly have remained here for a few days at least; but I considered my duty to call me to fresh exertions, and determined therefore to return to Nazareth, to make new enquiries. When this determination was communicated to my host, he did all he could to combat it, and it was matter of so prolonged a dispute, that it was past midnight before our party broke up, when I retired to the excellent bed I had before slept in, and was attended by the hasnader or treasurer of the pilgrim chief in person.

As I could not with delicacy make any direct enquiries respecting Sanhoor, and as I had no opportunity of seeing it but from without, excepting only the small portion which we passed through in our way from the gate to the house, I knew little more of it than its outline features. It is a walled town, seated on a hill, the ascent of which is steep on all sides; and it commands the view of a fine broad valley or plain to the northward, and of a narrower one to the southward of it, both of which are cultivated. The walls of Sanhoor are strongly built, and are apparently of old Saracenic work. There are two gates of entrance, in opposite quarters of the town; but the whole circuit of the walls is less than half a mile. The houses within are thickly placed, and well built; the streets are narrow; the population is abundant for the size of the place, and the whole of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Hadjee Ahmed Jerar, the chief, is tributary to Damascus, but is still an absolute lord within his own domain, as there are no military or other agents of the superior government ever stationed throughout his territory. His establishment is quite a feudal one, and he has several other towns and villages, besides extensive lands around them, attached to his service and

governed by his will. But notwithstanding that his power is absolute, his moderate use of it renders his government mild; and his dependants seemingly all rejoiced in the superiority of their privileges and their happiness. Every thing that I saw myself within the benign influence of this man's paternal government, wore an appearance of industry, security, abundance, health, and satisfaction; and furnished the most striking contrast that could be witnessed to the aspect of Turkish and Arabian settlements in general.

18th. As our way was thought to be only a short day's journey to Nazareth, we were not suffered to depart without taking an early meal, which Hadjee Ahmed had ordered to be prepared on the preceding evening, and of which he himself partook with us.

On setting out, he said he could hardly wish that I should be driven from Nazareth back to Sanhoor again, in search of a caravan for Damascus, as he hoped, for my sake, that I should find one direct from thence; but he made me promise, if ever I should again come into Syria or Palestine, either on my return from India, or at any subsequent period, that I would come and stay within his castle for a month at least.

Leaving Sanhoor at eight o'clock, we passed for half an hour over a small, but well-cultivated plain, to the northward of the town. From the northern edge of this we went for about an hour and a half over stony ground, when we reached Cabaat. This village, which we had before passed after it was dark, on our way hither from Jeneen, contains from fifty to eighty dwellings, and is altogether peopled by Mohammedans.

To go by what our guide thought a shorter route, we kept to the westward, leaving Jeneen on our right; and in about two hours more, over uneven and generally barren ground, we came to the village of Birreheen. This is seated on the brow of a hill, and contains from forty to fifty dwellings; and just opposite to it, on the west, distant about a mile, is another village of the same size, called Cufir-Cudt.

Below this, we turned to the north-east, through a narrow pass, in which a deep well was sunk down in the rock at the foot of an overhanging cliff. Pursuing our way from hence, we came out at noon upon the Great Plain of Esdraelon, having Jeneen in sight about two miles to the eastward of us.

• Going nearly in a northern direction over the plain, we came at two o'clock to Makheably, passing close to its western edge, where we observed the scattered fragments of buildings, pottery, sarcophagi, and other proofs of former consequence.

The rest of our way back was precisely that by which we had come from Nazareth. In the course of it we observed, that what is called the Great Plain of Esdraelon, taking the hills we had quitted to be its southern boundary, and the range on which Nazareth stands to be its northern limit, is not strictly a plain, in the sense in which we generally understand the word, but consists of a series of elevations and depressions, some of which are very considerable. It is in contrast to the more rugged parts of the hill-country only that it can be called so, or from the circumstance of those ridges in it not interrupting the general surface of corn-land to which it is mostly appropriated, since all the elevated parts are cultivable even to their summits.

• The Hermon of this place, as compared with Tabor, is a small range of hills standing nearly in the middle of the Great Plain and isolated on all sides round. But this is not the principal Hermon of the Scriptures, as invoked in the writings of Solomon and David, as will be shown in its proper place, though this range here opposite to Tabor is always pointed out by the guardians of the holy places as the only mountain so called.

The length of the Great Plain of Esdraelon, within the limits prescribed to it on the east and west by geographers and travellers, is estimated at about eight hours' journey, or at least thirty miles. Its breadth from north to south, in the way we came over, is about five hours' travel, or nearly twenty miles; as we entered it at noon, and reached the foot of the Mountain of the Precipitation

exactly at sunset, having halted only to water our horses at the wells of Fooli in the way. Nearly the whole extent of this land now lies waste, though its fine soil is everywhere capable of cultivation.

We reached the Convent of Nazareth at seven o'clock, and were received with surprise at the cause of our return from Nablous; but we found as hearty a welcome among the friars there as before.

THE END.

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